

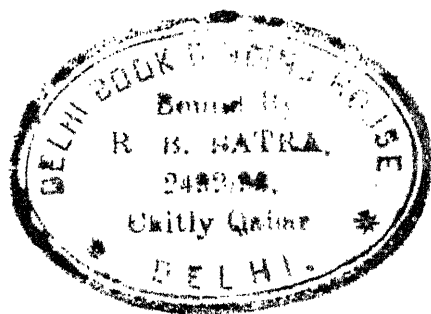
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VOL. 29

NO. 1

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A Quarterly Anthropological Journal
Founded in 1921 by Late Sarat Chandra Roy

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Edited by : R. C. ROY and D. N. MAJUMDAR

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MAN IN INDIA

Vol. XXIX]

January—March 1949

[No. 1

THE ROLE OF VALUES IN PRIMITIVE SOCIETY

R. K. MUKERJEE

MAN is actuated by manifold instincts, desires and interests, and participates in many social activities, groups and institutions. Different types of values emerge in each social context and regulate individual desires, interests and activities. There are also competition and selection of values in each sphere of human interest and activities. And yet some values are more pervasive, clamorous and enduring, maintaining themselves in the movement of happenings and cross current of individual preferences and social ends. These tend to over-step their own sphere, dominate over other values and tend to regulate the whole of life's interests and activities by establishing the hierarchy of values under their monitorship.

How did different categories of values emerge and function in the early stages of social evolution? In the dawn of civilisation and in savage communities of the modern age, man's values and activities are not divisible into watertight compartments. In primitive societies the social force that establishes the inner unity of the horde, the tribe and the community is represented by the all-pervasive and mysterious supernatural powers, totems, animal guardian spirits, ancestors and gods that participate in all tribal activities. The pattern of tribal behaviour is woven out of the subtly combined threads of magic, art and economics, and it is difficult to separate a particular strand from the total value, meaning and experience. Religious or magical, aesthetic and economic values are all jumbled together. As the primitive community undertakes its ritual observance, and represents or dramatises on such an occasion the expected hunt or war expedition, the movement of their food or guardian animals or again, the resurrection of vegetation in spring, all interests and values have their full say under the influence of strong collective emotions discernible in the elaboration or

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repetition of the actions, gestures or spoken words. Totem, spirit, ancestor, god or the *mana* embodying the values primitively unified by magic and religion, enliven by their presence hunting and fishing expedition, agricultural toil, war and chase. The inner rapport established by magic, myth and religion is thus mobilised for the practical tasks of food collection, fishing, hunting and military expedition. Aesthetic and economic values blend easily with the magical, the moral and the religious. Art completes an economic task by representing it in the mimetic gestures of the rite in all its entirety without slips, errors and disturbances, adding to the sense of collective competence a profound joy arising from the rhythm of the chant and dance in which the entire tribal group participates. Clapping, swaying, dance and chorus, all subserve the function of strengthening and defining the solidarity of the group for success in economic activities by the unity and sureness of the rhythm. Primitive agriculturists have not much faith in their economic toil in the fields. Their agricultural routine is preceded by a dance ritual in which some men imitate the copulation of various birds and beasts, while naked women also dance around, and scatter imagined seeds in the ground. Without the invoking of the mysterious fecundity of the soil by the dance of copulation, the spilling of blood of sacrificed human or animal victims or the worship of the Great Mother, agriculture cannot succeed with many peoples. Man's ideas of the right conduct are first systematised and regulated by the common set of attitudes and feelings in which magic, religion, art and economics are blended together, with magical values dominating everything. In the social myths of primitive peoples, it is not moral sentiments but a strict observance of magical taboos and superstitions that safeguards good conduct. As Briffault observes: "In the same manner as savage humanity substitutes supernatural agencies for intelligent provisions and devices, irrational means for rational ones, so the rules of conduct to which it attaches the greatest importance are founded upon categorical imperatives and not on justice or consideration of human welfare."¹ The man who is most endowed with magical power is the most moral, and at the same time, the most successful person enjoying the good things of life. Not to follow the dictates of magic is to court disaster for crops and cattle, defeat in military adventures and failure in love intrigues; while magic is also the means by which evil action can be atoned for and the famine, blight, disease, murder

¹ *Sin and Sex*, p. 26.

or accident, associated with it, avoided. Primitive myth, accordingly, is empty of ethical content. It prescribes taboos and injunctions for ensuring morality, good behaviour and manners, but hardly refers to any primordial cause nor establishes any connection whatsoever between human conduct and supernatural favour or disfavour.¹ On the advanced level, as magical myth develops into religious myth, the system of values that the myth postulates and prescribes becomes more specific and explicit and is buttressed by divine sanction and retribution; while some kind of simple logic supersedes magic in establishing rationalized linkages between various natural and social happenings. In most cultures the moral code is grounded on the rationalised connection between divine reward and human piety, between divine punishment and sin or crime. It is the religious myths which maintain this connection. But religious myths presuppose a definite advance in primitive mentality in which there are provided in thought intermediate links between systems of human and natural and supernatural phenomena that are no longer blurred nor merge in one another; while in social action too there is intelligent adaptation of technic means and devices to ends and goals, associated of course with prayer and worship that ardently invoke the beneficent intercession of the supernatural, especially in hazardous and critical social situations. As a matter of fact, even in modern society there are sectors of life, full of hazards and uncertainties, where the civilised mind still believes itself under the influence of magical values. Love, marriage, gambling and war throw to the wind the values systematised by religion and science through the centuries and encumber modern youths with the obscure superstitious scruples and regulations of magical lore.

The large mass of population all over the world is still dominated by magical values. Their exponents and guardians are rain-makers, medicine men, diviners, priests and prophets of all sorts who seek to influence the course of nature or the behaviour of man by sympathetic magic. Primitive society is concerned not with motivations but with the concrete qualities and consequences of behaviour. Differences in human traits and personality are not taken into account, nor their influence upon behaviour. More than any notions of social justice or human goodwill or dignity, it is the adherence to taboo injunctions and superstitious rules, sometimes enforced with fierce zeal and punc-

¹ See Radin; *Primitive Religion*; also Malinowski; *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*.

tilliousness, that form the basis of morality of the primitive peoples. In the Samoan code of morality, according to Margaret Mead, the whole preoccupation is with the individual as an actor, and the motivations peculiar to his personality are left an unplumbed mystery. A good child will be said to listen 'easily' or to act well. 'Easily' and 'with difficulty' are judgments of character. The Lipan Apache Indians of the American South-west follow the norms of conduct set by the supernatural and animals of early times. The well-esteemed follow the ways of the culture hero, Enemy Slayer (the sun); while the inept follow Coyote's way. "To be foolish and fickle as Coyote, is forgivable; to be aberrant in unfamiliar or unsanctioned ways is the real offence," records M.E. Opler. The objects, forces and beings of the Lipan world become animate or personified in order to aid the deserving or to punish the erring. The aid offered a human being may be for the occasion only, or it may consist in the granting of a magic which insures supernatural help in recurring crises. Magic provides the sure clue to ease or difficulty of action in the savage world as well as to a great extent in the agricultural world. Frazer attributes the widespread vogue of magic to the fact that magic is nothing but the mistaken application of the very simplest and most elementary processes of the mind, *viz.*, the association of ideas by virtue of resemblance or contiguity. Small minds under emotional stress, suspense or bewilderment easily fall into this error, and cling to the belief that things succeed each other in life and nature simply because these are like each other or have been found together in their experience. Such thinking is, to be sure, of the most primitive kind and is a measure of the continuance of savagery in civilisation. In judgments of value based on sympathetic magic the modern man continues as a savage or barbarian. The primitive man's notion of his own personality is inchoate, diffuse and blurred. The self is inextricably mingled with the surrounding personalised world. There is no dissociation of self from an effective relationship to the environment. Like the animal he cannot free himself from his emotions, from his personal and impersonal world. Thus one Brazilian tribe attributes the cannibalism of neighbouring tribe to the fact that the latter have descended from jaguars.¹ For the same reason, the primitive man's morality is conceived in terms of behaviour, pleasure or displeasure. "The Winnebago moralist would insist that we have no right to preach an ideal of love, or claim that we love,

¹ Werner : *Comparative Psychology of Mental Development*, p. 490.

unless we have lived up to the practical implications of this sentiment." The primitive man's crime or misdemeanour has nothing to do with his inner motives, but is judged in terms of overt conduct. Speaking of the primitive Brazilian Indians, Karl von den Steiner observes, "goodness and badness exist only in the crude sense that one can give another pleasure or displeasure, but a true moral perception and an ideal beyond the notion of reward or the fear of punishment are completely absent." Werner considers that the primitive man's personality has every resemblance with the child's in his relatively diffused and syncretic structure. With reference to morals, he refers to Piaget's experiments with the child's concept of responsibility that plainly demonstrate that the younger child's evolution of misdeeds is a matter of objective rather than of subjective import, and that the idea of moral default and responsibility as something to be judged in terms of overt behaviour appears in children only after the age of ten.¹ After this age the child ceases to consider rules to be external but within the range of his own decision and develops the notion of justice or fairness based on a progressive sense of equalitarianism. This is intimately concerned with the growth and differentiation of individuality. In child as well as in primitive psychology the personality is concerned in terms of concrete behaviour while behaviour is dominated by belief in magical influence that spreads from person to person and from person to the environment. The "blurred" personality of both primitive man and child does not show the sense of moral responsibility.

¹Radin : *Primitive Man as Philosopher*, p. 72.

TERRITORIAL EXOGAMY

T. B. NAIK

1

EXOGAMOUS rules forbid the members of a particular group to marry any other member of the same group. Some societies practise local or territorial exogamy which means that the members of that society cannot marry in the same village, in the same group of villages, or in the same district. Many anthropologists have discussed this question so far as sept or clan exogamy is concerned but no satisfactory account is given of local or territorial exogamy and no data has come forward to show how this institution works and how the members of such a society feel about it.

Though the literature on Indian tribes and castes does not furnish us with much data on territorial exogamy, we do come across many examples. In Kurnal while every man must marry into his own tribe none can marry into his own *gens*. But this is by no means the only limitation imposed upon intermarriage. No man can marry into a family of whatever *gens* it may be that is settled in his own village, or in any village adjoining his own.¹ For the Ahirs of North India, who are much akin to the Abhirs, the Scythians, and the Yadavas, it is said that the Brahmanical *gotras* are unknown to them and marriage among them is regulated by a very large number of exogamous groups (*mul*) of the territorial type.² In the Chandra Vansi Chhatris of Muzaffarpur (Bihar) marriages in the same village are not preferred and generally not allowed 'because the whole village is like a family.' But if somebody has settled in the village coming down from another within memory, he can have marriage relations with others of the village.³ The Mochis of the Central Provinces have the same kind of territorial exogamy; they have among them the well-known Rajput clans and also an equal number of *khera* (or groups named after village; and it seems that the *kheras* were the original divisions and the Rajput *gotras* have only been more recently adopted in supporting their claims to

¹ North Indian Notes and Queries, Vol. III, Nov. 1893, No. 238, p.133.

² Crooke W., Tribes and Castes of N.W. Provinces and Oudh, (Cal. 1896) Vol. I, p. 57.

³ From a Bihari friend,

Rajput blood.⁴ Most of the detailed examples come from the Munda tribes. In the Central Provinces the Khonds have thirty-two exogamous septs; and all the members of one sept live in the same locality about some central village. Thus the *tua* sept are collected round the village of Teplagarh in the Patna State; the *loa* sept round Sindhakala, the *borya* sept round Bangamunda and so on.⁵ In the Baigas the *jat* is subdivided into a very large number of exogamous *garh* and *goti*. The *garh* which are the more important of the two are based on residence. The idea is that every Baiga originally belonged to a particular hill or jungle and that he must marry his daughter to a man belonging to a different hill or jungle, a sound and logical basis for exogamy. These *garh* are territorial. They are exogamous but not totemistic. They represent the original division of the *jat* and were adequate for their purpose.⁶ The Pauri Bhuiyas are one of the Munda tribes among whom though exogamy exists, totemic organisation is absent. In place of clan exogamy, they practise what may be called village exogamy. The unit of their social organisation is the village consisting of families supposed to be descended from a common ancestor and all regarded as '*kutumbis*' or agnates. And so a Pauri Bhuiya must seek bride for his sons and husbands for his daughters from outside his own village.⁷ Cognatic relations are known as '*bandhus*' and the villages with which a Pauri Bhuiyas enter into marital connections are called his '*bandhu*' villages. The Mundas and the Hos also have exogamous *killis* and it seems, each village was inhabited by the members of a *killi*.⁸ Among the Bondos of Orissa, a village is an almost sacred unit; its members are tied to it by specialities and marriage is forbidden within its limits. This kind of village exogamy is common throughout Orissa: it is strictly observed by the Juangs; the Kondhs go as far as to name a betrothed girl by the village to which she will go and most other tribes observe the rules with more or less fidelity. In the Saoras of the Koraput and other districts of Orissa the absence of totemistic groups is very general. There is the rule relating to exogamy in the village. The men and women of the same village should not intermarry because they belong to the same extended family.⁹ Still

⁴ Russell and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of C.P.* (London 1916).

⁵ Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

⁶ Verrier Elwin, *The Baiga* (London 1939), p. 173.

⁷ Sarat Chandra Boy, *The Hill Bhuiyas* (Ranchi 1935), pp. 80-81.

⁸ Majumdar, *A Tribe in Transition* (London, 1937), pp. 53, 89.

Roy, S. C., *The Mundas and their Country*, p. 83.

⁹ G. V. Sithapati, *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XII, Pt. IV., pp. 192-3.

south, in the Mysore State it is supposed that the idea of a village as an exogamous group is very old.¹⁰ In Gujarat, Mr. S. V. Mukerji says that a curious rule of marriage prohibition is met within the Broach circle of the Lewa Kunbis which does not allow daughters being given in marriage within the same village.¹¹ The same rule holds true for the Rajputs there according to Mr. Gait who says that among them all the caste people living in the same village are regarded as related to each other and marriages are therefore arranged with persons living elsewhere.¹² Last but not the least important examples of local exogamy are found at the other end of India in the Naga tribes of Manipur where the law of exogamy prevails in respect of the clans comprising the villages.¹³ The most striking feature thus of the prevalence of local exogamy in India is that it is found in peoples of almost all races, culture and geographical areas.

II

How does local exogamy work? What goes on behind the prohibition of marrying in the same area? We must know how people of an area regard each other, and what their reaction is to outsiders or inhabitants of other areas. In Karnal, people's attitude can be seen when they say this is *samjorki biradari*, relationship based on common boundary. In the Bondos, the rules of phratry exogamy are violated with impunity but sex relations between members of the same village, men and women who partake of the same sacrificial food (*tooru*) is considered a most heinous offence. The young men and girls of the village therefore have to look to the youth of the neighbouring village for marriage partners and opportunities for regular contact between the young people of the tribe are afforded by the institution of the girls' dormitories. From the age of eight or nine the young unmarried girls go to sleep in their dormitories where they receive the boys of other villages when they come visiting. The favourite time for these visits are the monsoon months, when the boys walk many miles through the dark and the rain to visit their girl friends of neighbouring villages. Often the girls will have food or drink ready to entertain their guests and the boys will bring them tobacco and small presents. Most evenings are

¹⁰ L. K. Anant Krishna Iyer, *Mysore Tribes and Castes*, Mysore 1935, Vol.I. p.194.

¹¹ S. V. Mukerji, *Census of India 1931*, Vol. 19. p. 448.

¹² Edward Gait, *Census of India 1911*, Vol. I (India), p.252.

¹³ T. C. Hodson, *The Naga Tribes of Manipur* (London 1911), p. 89.

spent in songs and games but the boys are also free to flirt with the girls; there is no formal provision for regular sexual intercourse between boys and girls, no permanent pairing off or enforced exchange of partners; when a boy believes that his proposal is likely to be accepted he brings a bangle and one of his friends takes the girl's hand and grasping her middle finger holds the bangle between his thumb and second finger. If the girl takes the bangle and puts it on her arm, she agrees to become the donor's wife.¹⁴

Apart from this romantic but naturally a boyish aspect of territorial exogamy in the Bondos, it has a more serious aspect also. The sacramental fellowship of the village community invests it with a moral and religious importance, for as an exogamous unit it exercises a profound influence on the men and women who compose it. 'The women of our villages are our mother and sisters', they say; and this belief is taken very seriously indeed. Men do not make indecent jokes in the presence of their women, though they are ready enough to do so elsewhere. There are no flirtations between neighbours and only barely a breach of the rules that may lead to marriage. The Bondos consider it really important that marriages should be concluded between people who are attached to different *sindibor*, who are strictly separated from one another during the *angto* days of the great festivals who partake of a different *som* food. The institution of the girls' dormitory with its open invitation to youths of other villages and the taboo on local boys, as seen above, impresses this on every child, marriage with some one in the same village is regarded almost as seriously as the crime of incest.

Some more interesting sociological attitudes to local exogamy can be seen from the Anavils of Gujarat who have as a rule no bar on marriage in the same village; but who do prefer finding a mate from villages other than their own. One reason is, the whole village is like an extended family and every man of a person's father's age is addressed as paternal uncle, *kaka*, his wife as *kaki*, all boys a little older than himself as *bhais* or brothers and girls as sisters by him. All the villagers consider a girl of their own village as their own daughter; and when she marries, they send her to her father-in-law's house with much sorrow and many feelings. When anybody from this village goes to her new house she is very glad; 'my brother has come' or 'my uncle has come,' she will say and she does not allow him to leave without having his meals there. There are many folksongs in Gujarat which show

¹⁴ C. von Furer-Haimendorf, *Avenues to Marriage among the Bondos of Orissa, Man in India* Vol. XXIII, No. 2, pp. 168-70.

how much glad a girl is when somebody from her father's village comes to visit her.

Because of this familial relation, they do not consider it proper to marry a boy and a girl of the same village, who call each other brother and sister. The same thing happens in the village of one's mother's father. There all the men of a person's maternal uncle's age are called maternal uncle *mama*, and women of his mother's age are maternal aunts, *mashis*. He cannot marry their daughters and I know of a young man who was not allowed to marry the daughter of a woman whose father lived in the same village as that of this man's mother's father though theoretically the boy and the girl belong to different villages that is to their own father's. The local caste journals are full of stories where the motif is the same : the boy is in love with the girl of his own village, but he is not allowed to marry her because of this customary prohibition and there is a tragic end to his career. The same custom of calling all the villagers as if they are the members of the same family is present in many provinces and Mr. Martin specially mentions this as a reason of territorial exogamy in the Central Provinces.¹⁵

Some people say that living in the same village, they know each other very well especially their generally poor economic condition and hence it is not desirable that the girl should be given deliberately in such a family where she will not be happy. Young men of the village are also not eager to marry them because, they say ; 'We know the stuff they are made of. We know their career'. I heard this in the Anavils of Gujarat.

III

Territorial exogamy is very much connected with village organization. We may take for granted that in most of the societies where culture has not become much complex, members of a family like to stay together if not in the same house, in the same village at least. In ancient times when villages were populated it might have happened that members of a joint family might have set up at some place and hence the village people were each other's blood-relations and on account of the horror of incest by marriage in the family, they did not marry in the same village but sought for their brides outside. In the Nagas it seems, people who set up a village were of the same family and also follow-

¹⁵ Mr. Martin quoted by E. Gait, *op. cit.* p. 251.

ed the same occupation. When a girl was married she was not given in the same village because it was *ghenna* ; and she was not allowed to follow the occupation of her parents.¹⁶ Judging from the organization of the Marias in Baster, there seem originally to have been a number of groups or clans or *keri* which occupied certain localities and gave to them their tribal names. In the Anantgarh Paragana of that state some of these names still remain *e.g.*, Padamdes, Nardesh, Parsal, Gorsal.¹⁷ In the Baigas also the *garhs* were made to prevent brother and sister sleeping together. It is derived from Nanga Baigin herself. She gave her twelve sons the names of the first twelve *garhs*. From these twelve came the great multitude of *garhs* that exist today. The members of a single family set up a village among the Bhils even today. When I was among the Bhils last year I saw a small village Dhansara, which was populated by a man and his blood relatives who left their old village as they were often attacked by diseases there. The same system of village organisation is to be found in the Chenchus also.¹⁸ 'Blood relations', according to Haimendorf, 'have a definite preference for dwelling close together, and many local groups are made up entirely of blood relations and their mates. Thus the inhabitants of Malapur, consisted of the family of Paddamanchi, his daughter and son-in-law, the widow of his elder brother's son and her two sons who are both married. A few months later, Guruwane, the Paddamanchi's father's elder brother's son's son moved from another village to Malapur. The Chenchus do not like to live where they have no blood relations and should a man find himself in such a situation owing to the death of all his relatives in one village, he will leave that settlement and join the village of his wife or that of some other relations'. For the Mysore villages the following generalisation tells us why it is so much of an exogamous unit.¹⁹ 'The term "village" is used in various senses and much depends on its constituent elements. Originally it must have consisted of a group of families based on kinship or common descent, which in course of time was forgotten. Dr. Radhakamal Mukherji enumerates briefly the characteristics of the Munda-Dravidian polity:²⁰ (1) territorial division and subdivision of the tribe ; (2) tribal jurisdiction as well as central and local government by panchayats presided over by village

¹⁶ Hodson, *op. cit.* p.176.

¹⁷ Gait, *op. cit.* p.251.

¹⁸ Haimendorf, *The Chenchus* (London 1943), p.108.

¹⁹ L. K. Anant Krishna Iyer, *op. cit.*, pp.411-12.

²⁰ Radhakamal Mukherji, *Man in India*, Vol. III, 1923, p. 12.

headman and acknowledging the authority of a divisional chief ; (3) the communal control of the unoccupied waste or forest and an agrarian economy under the scattered field system ; (4) communal employment of a staff of village officers ; (5) communal apportionment of revenue burdens ; (6) and reservation of a plot of land for the worship of local gods : which all shows that a village for them was a communal unit where everything was done as if it were a single family. Even peoples who have much of Aryan influence have the same village organization. In the Anavil village of Hansapur (Surat District), I found that out of thirty-two houses, thirty were related to each other within their tenth generation. If other villages are surveyed like this, I think the same conclusion will be arrived at.

The above will show how the organization of a village is responsible for the custom of territorial exogamy, when the territory is only a village, and the idea can be applied to a group of villages as well.

IV

From the above it may seem that different villages were inhabited by different clans and that gave rise to village exogamy; but there is another phenomenon also. Certain territorial groups have taken the form and character of a clan and for all practical purposes they work as clans or septs. Here the rule of exogamy outside the clan naturally means territorial exogamy. This is important from many points of view : it gives us an idea as to how some of the clans or *gotras* were formed and it also brings home to us the real nature of territorial exogamy. But there is a limitation to these groupings. At present they have nothing territorial about their exogamy ; and they work as ordinary clans.

The list of territorial sections and subsections in different Indian tribes and castes is endless. I give only a few and random examples. In the United Provinces the Koeries, a gardening caste have some endogamous subcastes which are of local origin: Sarwariya (from Sarwar), Prayagha (from Prayag), Kanaujia (from Kanoj), Illahabadi (from Allahabad), Brijwasi (from Brij) Purbhiha (from Purab or the east) and others;²¹ the Kurmis of that place have also such exogamous groups named after such

²¹ Crooke, Tribes and Castes of North Western Provinces and Oudh, Vol. III, p.288.

places as Udich, Batham, Chandour, Nepal, and Akhrat.²² Even the criminal Kanjars have such exogamous septs of local origin as Agrawal, Ajodhyabasi, Allahabad, Shribastava, Bengali, Jaiswar, Nizamabadi and many others.²³ The Halwaies of the same province have an elaborate system of exogamous groups known as '*bani*' within the endogamous tribe. Those persons who belong to the same '*bani*' cannot intermarry. These groups seem to be territorial and any of them have a mnemonic verse attached to them.²³ Similarly the Bhuinhar caste of landowners and agriculturists are organized on territorial systems; and also the Bhuiyas of Mirzapore. Examples of such territorial groups come also from the Darzis, Dhobis, Doms, and Gujars.²⁴ Besides the Khonds, the Kunbis, the Kurmis, the Jadavs and the Ahirs of the Central Provinces have many exogamous subdivisions which are territorial or form the village from which they came. In the Gujarat Bhils and Dublas many exogamous sub-septs have local origin. Many of the *gotras* of the ancient Brahmins refer to particular locality in which the person or the persons lived; just as Gandhara (a resident of the Gandhara province), Panchala (a resident of Panchala), Khandava (a resident of the Khandava forest), Matsya (a resident of Matsya province), Malva, Madhyadeshya, Gangi, Godayana, Gaindhava, Vesya, etc.²⁵

The most interesting example of the transition of a territorial group into a *gotra* has come to my notice in the study of the Modhs of Gujarat²⁶ for whom it is narrated that in 1130 A.D. there was a terrible famine in Gujarat and as a consequence 1,444 Modh families migrated to Malwa. All these families belonged to twentyfour *gotras* and came from fiftytwo places like Sidhpur, Patan, Tadnagar, Visnagar, Dholka, Pirojpur, Cambay, Bhemchia and other small villages. After settling in Ujjain and other places their goddess, it is said, declared their *gotras*. They were thenceforth to be known by the name of the town or village from which they originally came and intermarriage among them was forbidden.

V

With the discussion of territorial exogamy, it is almost unavoidable to bring in the discussion of territorial endogamy, showing how the principles of biology, if territorial exogamy

²² Ibid, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 35.

²³ Ibid, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 138.

²⁴ Ibid, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 482.

²⁵ S. V. Karandikar, Hindu Exogamy (Bombay 1929), p. 55.

²⁶ Keshavlal Ojha, The Modhs of Malwa, (Lucknow 1909), pp. 4-7.

is supposed to be based on biological selection, are conditioned by reasons of social expediency and psychological necessities. By territorial endogamy is meant here the custom by which a person has to marry within a certain territory and not beyond it. Examples of such societies come from Gujarat where the Lewa Kunbis of certain villages in 1853 entered into a solemn agreement or *ekda* drawn up on stamped paper and signed by the headmen of the villages, promising to marry only among persons in their own social position and among themselves to give and take in marriage without claiming dowry.²⁷ This idea of one's own social position had been restricted by them in the following twelve years and there were solemn agreement to eschew the Kunbis and to give and take in marriage only in their own social position.

In Gujarat folk literature there are many songs which depict the pathetic state of a girl who has been married very far from her parents' village. In one, she says :

My father said the Tapti banks,
But did not see these people.
Once I came :
They cared not whether I was dead or alive.

And in the following song from Maharashtra we have the picture of a girl who is waiting for a messenger to return from her father's place, *Mahar*:²⁸

The day is gone, the plantain tree shuts out the sun;
But my messenger to *Mahar* has not returned.

That is the tragedy that is in store for girls married at a great distance from the parental home. To avoid this as much as possible, the parents choose to marry her in their own group of villages.

VI

The folksongs of many Indian tribes and castes refer to the lover as a bird who comes from another country to the girl: for example, the following lines from the Dublas of Gujarat:

He has come,
The *pardeshi* parrot has come ;
And will take away
Our sister.

or the following from the Garhwal district of the U.P.:²⁹

In the lonely forest,
When tears come in my eyes,
Who will wash them away
Lachma, my parrot dear,
Who will wash away ?

²⁷ S. V. Karandikar, *Hindu Exogamy*, (Bombay 1929).

²⁸ Mary Fuller, Mahar, *Man in India*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, June 1943.

²⁹ N. S. Bhandari, *Snowballs of Garhwal* (Lucknow 1946), p. 49 (Ed. D. N. Majumdar).

and this one from the Bhils of Panchmahal also shows that a bridegroom is a bird which was staying very far from his maternal-in-laws' house.³⁰

The yellow parrot was staying in the yonder hills,
It flew from there :
It sat on the tamarind tree,
It flew from there,
And sat on the woman's water pot.

The lover is also spoken of as a foreigner :³¹

Oh foreigner, oh man from Domerkhel,
You shot the arrow to my heart.
The whole of me is pining for you,
For you I went astray.

And sometimes this foreigner is shown as coming over hills and forests as in the Andhras.³²

Oh I have come across the hillocks,
Many an outhill, a dense forest I left behind.
O, didn't I pass them all to reach this wilderness ?
Come on charming Ranga,
O, didn't I pass them all to reach this wilderness ?

Like the lover, the bridegroom is also spoken of as a man coming from a distant country;³³ in many Gujarati songs he comes from the Konkan or from the forest of Rajgarh; and in some Brahmin songs he is referred to as the king of Kashi :

The parrot chirped,
And the peacock danced,
What king shall be our guest ?
Viswanath, the King of Kashi
Shall come to our house :
Let the drums be beaten
And beds be spread.

Similarly the bride is spoken of as going to another country in the Bhils:³⁴

Our Gujarati left the lap of her father,
She sat on the lap of her mother-in-law,
Our Gujarati has left our country,
And has gone to her father-in-law's country.

VII

The data so far collected thus tell us that people of the same village believe that they are of the same family or of the same

³⁰ Vanikar, *Panchmahal na Bhilo na Gito* (Ahmedabad 1945), p. 23.

³¹ S. G. Dube, *Field Songs of Chattisgarh*. (Lucknow 1947), p. 11.

³² Devendra Satyarthi, *Meet My People* (Lahore 1946), p. 186.

³³ Edward Westermarck in *The History of Human Marriage* Vol. II says : 'Prof. Kovalesko states that in some parts of Russia the bride is always taken from another village than the bridegroom's and even provinces in which no similar custom is known to exist, the bridegroom is constantly spoken of as a foreigner and his friends and attendants are represented as coming with him from a distant country to take away the future spouse. In Bulgarian songs, brides are invariably said to be brought from other villages.' p.82.

³⁴ Vanikar, *op. cit.* p.49.

blood or that they have the same gods and the same occupation hence to marry among these is incest. Frazer writes³⁵ 'We have seen that the rule of deterioration and especially of the infertility of the inbred animals can be remedied by simply changing the conditions of life, especially by sending some animals to a distance and then bringing their progeny back to unite with the members of the family which have remained in the old home. Such a form of local exogamy as we may call it without the introduction of any fresh blood appears to be effective in regenerating the stock and restoring its lost fertility.'

Considering the village a family, some say that to marry within it means inbreeding and the prohibitions like the above have been determined by injurious consequences. That there frequently are such consequences is admitted both by those biologists (and they are nowadays in the majority) who maintain that the bad effects of breeding depend exclusively on the Mendelian fact of recessive development and those who like Baur, maintain that inbreeding also for unknown reasons, weakens the offspring and reduces the capacity for reproduction.' But if this is true, territorial endogamy, whose examples I have given in section five must prove bad ; but so long as no work is done on the health of children in those castes born after territorial endogamy was instituted we cannot be quite sure of this hypothesis.

Some people believe that the boys and girls from the same village know each other from childhood; hence this too much familiarity does not excite sexual attraction between them and therefore they do not marry in the same village. According to Ellis,³⁶ 'the normal failure of the pairing instinct to manifest itself in the case of brothers and sisters or of boys and girls brought up together from infancy is a merely negative phenomena, due to the inevitable absence under those circumstances of conditions which evoke the pairing impulse... Courtship is the process by which powerful sensory stimuli proceeding from a person of the opposite sex gradually produce the psychological state of tumescence with its psychic concomitant of love and desire more or less necessary for mating to be effected. But between those who have been brought up together from childhood all the sensory stimuli of vision, hearing and touch have been dulled by use, trained to the calm level of affection and deprived of

³⁵ J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* (London 1935) Vol. IV, pp. 167-8.

³⁶ Havelock Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (New York 1901) Vol. I, Part 3, pp. 205-6.

their potency to arouse the erethistic excitement which produces sexual tumescence.

Frazer³⁷ puts forward another ingenuous sociological reason for the prevalence of local exogamy. Formerly it was all kinship exogamy but it changed into local exogamy. The chief factor of this conversion 'has been the adoption of paternal in preference to maternal descent for where the men remain in the same district or transmit their names unchanged from generation to generation, while the names of wives whom they import from other districts die out with their owners, the result is to make the kinship group indicated by the possession of a common hereditary name coincide more or less exactly with the local group, and thus the principle of class or kinship exogamy tends to pass gradually and almost insensibly into the principle of local exogamy.

There are a couple of objections to this theory. The first is, before proving that an area is exogamous, it already takes for granted that it is exogamous ; and secondly, there was no wholesale transition from maternal to paternal descent in the world ; history does not prove it ; and therefore, it cannot be accepted wholesale. The existence of so many theories at the same time proves that the custom of local exogamy can be explained on many counts ; and a monistic explanation of a blanket type which tries to prove it on this or that dogma cannot claim to be scientific.

³⁷ Frazer, *op. cit.* Vol. I, p.507.

DREAMS IN TWO PRIMITIVE TRIBES

S. C. DUBE

I

THE study of aboriginal dreams throws interesting light on primitive psychology and thought. It reveals significantly the subtle workings of their minds and gives us a glimpse of the *realities* of their life. Their dreams enable us to understand their ideas and attitudes, their wants and fears; for a dream to most of the tribes is a manifestation of reality, an experience as real as—any of the experiences of an individual in the waking stage. Although the experience of an individual in his every day life, and the encounters of his life-principle during sleep, fall in two different and distinct classes, the primitive people regard both of them as real; and it is through this recognition that dreams come to play a vital role in their life and culture.

The Kamar and Chaukhutia Bhunjia of Chhattisgarh classify dreams into four categories :

(1) Often they are the experiences of the *jiv* ; impressions of the encounters of the soul which leaves the body for these wanderings while an individual is asleep. As Bhainsa Kamar would put it, "When the tired body rests in deep slumber, the restless *jiv* starts for its wanderings. Sometimes it goes to forests, sometimes to far off villages; it may even cross rivers and mountains and visit strange cities. Occasionally, dreams are merely illusions under which the soul goes astray.

(2) Several dreams are prophetic and are the media through which the gods and ancestor-spirits convey their warnings and admonitions. These tribes have a regular scheme of the symbolic interpretation of dreams ; and seek guidance in their everyday life from these prophetic dreams.

(3) Through some rare dreams, contact is established between the Supreme Being and the chosen individuals to whom certain special gifts, such as magical power or knowledge of tribal mythology, are made.

(4) Lastly, the Baiga may send some dreams through the use of his powerful magic. When the soul yields to magic in the dream, the body cannot effectively resist it in real life.

Of these, dreams of the first category are the most common and numerous. Dreams of category (ii) and (iii) are those which Lincoln would describe as "official " or "culture pattern dreams

of special tribal significance."¹ The last category of dreams represent a *motif* which is widespread over the entire globe in the magical practices of the primitive people.

II

Dream experiences of different individuals have an extraordinary range and vary widely in their content, making the task of the analysis of dream types difficult.

The most frequent are the dreams regarding food and fear, sexual dreams, and dreams of relatives. Religious dreams, dreams of death and curious dreams are less frequent.

Rai Singh (Chankhutia Bhunjia) of Limdih reported the following dreams which he had on four consecutive nights:

(i)

I dreamt that arrangements were being made for my marriage. A number of guests had gathered in the courtyard; and the women folk were getting ready to apply oil and turmeric to my body. In the lane nearby, some people began playing music; and I woke up. Then I found that my wife had fever.

(ii)

I dreamt that a *sahab* (officer) dressed in white took me for *shikar*. In the evening when I returned home he gave me an anna.

(iii)

I once dreamt that I was riding a cycle; although I cannot actually ride one.

(iv)

I visited a far off city with great bazars. There were many shops; and huge heaps of cloth, trinkets, fried rice and grain were being sold. Crowds of people had gathered there and there were many officers. I roamed about quite a lot, ate some fried grain and returned home.

(v)

I went to an unknown place. There I saw the forest officer. He had three heads. He was writing on a huge bark.

"Rai Singh, your time is over," he said.

"Yes *Sahab*," I replied.

"I will extend your time," the Forest Officer with three heads exclaimed. I woke up and wondered what it was all about.

¹Lincoln, *The Dream in Primitive Cultures* (London 1935), p. 22.

(vi)

In dream I was going to the jungle for distilling some *mohua* liquor. On the way, I met the peon of the Excise Sub-inspector, who forced me to carry his box and bedding to the next village, and paid me nothing.

(vii)

In a dream I went to market. There a black but beautiful girl smiled at me. On our way back she smiled again. I took her into the jungle. I had never seen her before.

(viii)

One night I ate a lot of warm rice and *Kheda* vegetable in my dream. The next day I had to starve in the jungle, for I had to run about chasing a wounded animal which I did not get.

(ix)

My dead parents came to me and said, "Tomorrow an officer will come to the village. Do not quarrel with him, otherwise he will beat you with shoes and burn your house."

To take another example, Lakhiram Kamar of Marda reported having seen the following dreams in three consecutive nights :

(i)

I saw my deceased father coming to me. He looked old and bent with age. He said, "Son, do not quarrel. Live peacefully ; work, earn and eat in comfort."

(ii)

Five people belonging to the *samdhi*¹ clan came and began abusing me. Provoked by this I also abused them. Thereupon they became violent. They were five and I was all alone, so they began beating me. At this stage I woke up.

(iii)

I was going out into one jungle to dig out edible roots and tubers. A snake bit one of the fingers of my left foot, I ran toward the village to consult the Baiga. On the way I fell down in a ditch; and woke up from sleep.

(iv)

A bear was chasing me in the jungle. I tried to run fast, but it got hold of me and began biting my thighs. I began shouting for help and woke up from sleep.

¹ *Samdhi* clan has reference to the clan from which girls are taken and are given in marriage.

Notwithstanding this extraordinary range and wide variety of dreams, their classification into some more or less definite types is not impossible. Dreams of food and hunger are indeed most frequent; they are often tinged with anxiety born out of uncertainty. A little less than half of over four hundred dreams which I have on record, have direct or indirect bearing on their food problem. Some of these dreams are direct :

(i)

I attended a marriage. A large crowd had gathered, and the courtyard was full of people. I ate a lot of rice and *dal* and meat. I was thinking of taking something more still, when my weeping child woke me up. I said "You rascal, could you not wait for sometime more? For two days I had nearly starved; and you did not allow me to partake of the feast even in my dream."

—Banau Kamar.

(ii)

I returned home and found that my wife had cooked rice and vegetables. I told her, "I am very hungry. Give me food very soon." In a moment the plate was before me, and I ate a lot.—Manjhi, Chaukhutia Bhunjia.

(iii)

I was passing through the jungle. I found persons sitting there, enjoying the liquor they had distilled. Seeing me they said, "Come *saga*, we cannot finish it. Why not join us?" So I also joined them. Then we killed an animal and cooked rice and meat, and spent the whole afternoon in drinking.

More often the dreams of food are indirect. Although dream symbolism and its interpretation will be discussed in this paper at a later stage, here it is necessary to indicate the symbolic dreams which signify hopes of getting food or the opposite of it on the 'morrow. Here are a few examples :

(i)

I saw huge utensils kept on fire in a dream. I knew that pots kept on fire in dream mean cooking a rich meal, and that I would get an animal in the forest on the morrow and enjoy a hearty feast of meat. Next morning I shot a barking deer.

—Bansing Kamar of Timanpur.

(ii)

In a dream I was chased by a bear. This was a good dream. Next day I chased a spotted deer and killed it.

—Bansing Kamar of Timanpur.

(iii)

I saw *lac* (shellac) in my dream. I knew it symbolises meat. Next day my neighbour killed an animal and gave me a little meat.

—Pandu Kamar of Bhiralat.

(iv)

I saw a panther in my dream. Next day I had to starve. It always happens like that.

—Chander Bhunjia of Limdih.

(v)

In my dream I saw household pots kept upside down. I knew that I will have to go hungry. Next day, before my wife could finish her cooking, the constable called me for *begar*. I returned home late at night without having had a morsel of food.

—Aitwari, Kamar.

Fear dreams are also frequent. Many of them owe their origin to the uncertainty of their getting food. With others, officials high and low, often enough the latter, are associated. Besides the constables, forest-guards and excise peons, money-lenders also appear frequently in their dreams. Then there are some dreams born out of the fear of the unknown ; in which gods, deities, spirits and magicians feature prominently.

(i)

In a dream I saw that I had returned home from a distant village. My daughter was weeping in the courtyard. I called my wife but there was no response from inside. I went in, only to find that my wife was not there nor was there any fire in the hearth. All cooking utensils were lying empty and there was not a grain of rice. I began shouting for my wife and woke up.

—Mansingh Kamar.

(ii)

The constable in black uniform came and told me, 'Inspector *Saheb* is coming tomorrow. Keep ghee, milk and fowls ready.' Next morning I got up and remembering the dream went away into the jungle.

—Lanjhu Kamar.

(iii)

Sonram Teli came to me in a dream and asked me to do some work for him. I told him, "I am nobody's servant, I

cannot come." But the third day my uncle died and I had to borrow ten rupees from Sonram and work for him.

—Sudhu, Chukhutia Bhunjia.

(iv)

A strange looking god abused and kicked me in my dream. "Why are you kicking me?", I asked. "I will beat you to death, you urinated on me in the jungle," the god said. Then I woke up, and could not sleep for the rest of the night. Next morning I went to the Baiga who asked me to sacrifice a black fowl and burn incense.

—Sudhu, Chaukhutia Bhunjia.

(v)

I saw a *chirangul*. Her face was like a bat; and colour like that of ash. Her fingers were all made of nails, and she had breasts on her back. I was terrified and woke up perspiring profusely.

—Guantia, Chankhutia Bhunjia.

(vi)

I saw a grim looking man staring at me and muttering something. Then I felt that somebody had pulled out something very vital from within me. When I woke up I felt very weak and sick. Next day the Baiga said, "It is the effect of evil magic." I became alright when I offered sacrifice and burnt incense.

—Ghasia, Kamar.

Deceased parents and relatives often appear in dreams. Sometimes they warn people regarding impending dangers, sometimes they advise them and give helpful tips. In some case, they make demands on their children who neglect them. Often they give them advance information of their re-birth in the family. I will give only four examples:

(i)

My deceased mother said in a dream, "Do not cross the river tomorrow. The *Jal Kamini* is hungry." The third day we heard that a woman had drowned there.

—Sirjhu, Kamar.

(ii)

My deceased father came to me in a dream and said, "In the north-eastern corner you will get a herd of spotted deer tomorrow. Go and shoot them." We went and killed one buck and one doe that day.

—Pancham, Kamar.

(iii)

My deceased father appeared with two or three persons whom I could not recognise. He said, "Now you don't burn incense for us. Your crop will be ravaged if you forget us like this."

—Birjhu, Chaukhutia Bhunjia.

(iv)

My father-in law and mother-in-law came in a dream and said, "We are both coming." I did not understand it then, but on the fourth day twins were born to my wife.

Sexual dreams too are equally numerous and varied. Sometimes they are vividly remembered and described by the people; there are those which are symbolic. Ghosts and spirits feature in some, others refer to impotence, incest and traits of sadism. Many sex dreams are rather curious.

Religious and culture-pattern dreams are less frequent; but their significance in the tribal life is immense. Warnings about impending dangers like the out-break of epidemics, bestowal of special gifts like magic and skill in hunting and hints for success in day to day affairs, have a considerable influence on tribal culture. Here are a few examples :

(i)

Birjhu (Kamar) saw in his dream the neighbouring jungle and heard a voice asking him to prohibit all the people of the settlement from entering that jungle on the morrow. Birjhu accordingly asked all people not to enter the jungle. None went there that day. The very next day they heard that a bear had killed a Teli woman who had gone there to collect *tendu* leaves.

(ii)

Dokra (Kamar) got a dream in which he learnt that a pond in the nearby stream was being greatly troubled by fish. On the third day they organized a catch and were unusually successful.

(iii)

Pancham (Chaukhutia Bhunjia) saw one of the gods in his dream. He could not recognize him. But the god said: "Why are you lying idle at home? Go to the forest and shoot." Since that day Pancham became a *shikari*, and has got a reputation as such, for with his bow and arrows he has shot even bison and tiger.

(iv)

Samaru Kamar got a warning from a god in dream: "If your women-folk start putting nose-pins, you will all become untouchables like the Ghasias." He talked to the elders about it. After a few days, in a Panchayat assembled for some important work the point was raised. The people were asked to be particularly careful, to ensure that the evil practice did not start in the tribe.

(v)

Chamru, the Pujari of the Chaukhotia Bhunjias, saw some deity or one of the ancestor-spirits, who said: "The Chaukhotias are known for their *Chokh* (purity). If your women-folk eat at the hand of others the tribe will be destroyed." Third day a case came before him for judgement, in which a Chaukhotia Bhunjia woman was accused of having eaten food at the hands of a low caste man. She was permanently ex-communicated.

Besides the professional Baigas, some others also claim to have seen their tribal gods in dreams. But I failed to record any recent case during my investigations; and none of them remembered any of their past dreams clearly enough to narrate them vividly and in detail. Dreams of Hindu gods are, it appears, more frequent. Hanuman, Mahadeo, Bhim and Mata feature such dreams prominently. Dokel saw a white elephant which he regards as auspicious. Bhainsa claims to have seen Brahma; but according to his description he has hundred heads. I have on record only one dream regarding loss of teeth.

(i)

Tandu (Kamar) of Bhiralat dreamt that all his teeth were broken. Before going to the jungle the next day, he narrated his strange dream to his neighbours. In the jungle he climbed a dried tree to catch a mouse. There he was pulled down by a tiger. He fell on the ground, lost his teeth and was eaten up by the tiger.

(ii)

Flying dreams are common; but no special significance is attached to them. "One day I began flying like a bird in a dream. I crossed several rivers and mountains. Then I came to a spot where there was nothing—no human beings, no vegetation, not even a bird. There was water and water alone all round."

—Mandhar, Chaukhotia Bhunjia.

There is no generally accepted interpretation of climbing and falling dreams; although, some people suggested that it may signify the risk of the death of the dreamer or one of his near relatives. Here is a typical dream of this type:

It was a very high and steep mountain. On it there was a narrow foot path. I began climbing it. I was tired and perspired profusely but I still continued my ascent. When I had gone to the top a strange being greeted me angrily: 'Why have you come here? Go away to your world immediately.' So saying he pushed me and I fell down. Then I woke up.

—Motiran, Chankhutia, Bhunjia.

Both the Kamar and the Chaukhtia Bhunjia claim that they do not have many dreams of raw meat; for only cannibals and *aghoris* can have such dreams. If they do have such dreams, they are considered bad, because they vaguely signify death or serious accidents. Manglu says, "Once, I saw a lot of human flesh in my dream. Then I thought, what does this mean? Will a tiger eat me? But nothing like that happened afterwards."

Among both of these tribal groups *fire* in dreams has two contradictory meanings. It may signify quarrel; or it may also mean good food on the morrow. However, when they see pots kept on fire, its significance is always a happy one. "I saw in dream that my house has caught fire. Next day my wife quarrelled with me and ran away."

—Sagram, Chaukhtia Bhunjia.

Another dream of fire signifying possibility of getting meat for Bansingh Kamar has already been mentioned earlier.

Dreams of death, if they actually portray death are not regarded as bad.

In a dream I saw that I had died and people sat round me wailing loudly. I said to myself, 'They did not care for me when I was alive: now see how they are all weeping'.

—Samaru Kamar.

However, if they see a symbolic dream of death such as raising a wall or carrying a float, it is taken very seriously. For example:

(i)

"I saw that I was taking a float to Rajim. Next day my uncle died and I had to carry his dead body to the burial ground."

—Ramdhu Kamar.

(ii)

“In a dream I saw that I was raising a wall in my house. Next day I had to dig the grave of a neighbour.”

—A Kamar from Birodar.

III

While all dreams are *real* in the sense that they represent the true encounters of the life-principle of an individual; all do not have a prophetic significance; nor can one read their symbolic meaning with any degree of certainty in all cases. However, some dreams among these tribes have come to acquire a definite meaning, and the pattern of their interpretation is almost uniform among both these tribal groups, and also largely among the Amat, Dhur and Oriya Gonds. Here are some tried and trusted dreams, with their invariably correct meaning :

Dreams of fire symbolise quarrel. Tiger in dream means that you will get rice to eat, the next day. Seeing a float in dream means that next day you will have to carry a dead body. Seeing your wife with an earthen pot in your dream means that you will get a daughter.

Seeing yourself in the jungle with an axe or a bow and arrow means that your wife will give birth to a son. Dreams of fire in some cases, specially when you see pots kept on it, mean that you will see the blood of an animal and that its meat will be cooked at home.

If someone gives you tobacco in dream, then you will kill a small animal in the forest.

If you see a panther in dream making a sound, you will have to remain hungry on the morrow.

If you sing songs in dream, within three or four days you will have to weep.

If you carry grain in a basket, you will carry meat in leaf packets in a day or two.

If you see an arrow in your dream guests will come to your house in a day or two.

If a bear chases you in your dream you will kill an animal in the forest.

If you see that you are making an embankment, somebody will die in four or five days.

If you see *lac* (shellac) in your dream, then, you will get meat in a few days.

If you raise a wall in your dream somebody will die in a few days.

If you put on new cloths in dream, then you will have to carry the skin of an animal in a few days.

If you see a government officer in your dream, you have chances of meeting a tiger or panther in the jungle.

If you see a woman husking paddy, you have some chance of having intercourse with a woman other than your wife.

If you see someone firing a gun, a child will soon be born into your family.

If a man sees a flooded river in his dream, his wife will start menstruation soon.

If a woman sees a flooded river, guests will come to them.

Besides the above almost universally accepted interpretations, there are many other dreams whose interpretations differ in different areas. Because of the experience of an individual or a group of individuals a village may read one particular meaning into it, while another village, because of its different experience, may read a vitally different meaning in a similar dream. Many individuals evolve their own schemes of interpretation. There are some dreams, they suggest, which never fail them ; whenever those dreams come, they bring a definite message which is invariably accurate.

IV

To conclude, dreams have their *own* place in tribal culture. Sometimes they initiate activity ; sometimes they induce people to refrain from certain things. Although in all cases they do not provoke interpretation, and are even lightly laughed out sometimes, in several cases they do determine the thought and behaviour of individuals. All people do not necessarily confide all their dreams in others ; but dreams which have a definite symbolic meaning and significance are discussed among friends, and when necessary due precaution is taken. In cases which baffle the common sense of the ordinary man the expert help of the magician is sought.

THE DIWALI AMONG THE THARUS

S. K. SRIVASTAVA

The Tharus¹ do not observe *Diwali* like that of *Holi*. The latter festival lasts for more than a month and brings to them much gaiety and happiness. On the *Diwali* day they observe a ceremony called *Barshi* which is the ceremony of the dead. They call home the spirit of the dead person who was a blood relation or a member of the family. They believe that the spirit of the departed will visit the house on the *Barshi* day *i.e.*, on the *Diwali* day. They hold that the soul, *i.e.*, *jiv* of the deceased does not find rest until this ceremony is performed. In case of young children who die at the age of three or four years of age, this *Patri Jimauni* or *Barshi* ceremony takes place just after a week of the funeral, because the Tharus think that the *jiv* or the soul of the children is very tender and weak and is put to great trouble and suffering if this ceremony is not performed quite early. The children, after their death, can not wait upto the *Diwali* day. In the case of grown up children and adult, whether married or bachelor, cremated or buried, the *Mariat*² day is observed during the *Diwali*. The *Mariat* day is very important for the Tharus, and requires a lot of preparation. Before the *Diwali* day, women prepare 2 or 3 maunds of *chebana*³ of andi, gram, and the like. All the relatives and friends of the family, who are not going to observe this ceremony at their house, are invited. A very important tradition is that all those relatives who take part in the funeral must be invited in this ceremony. All those invitees think that it is binding and obligatory on their part to join it. All of them bring their own rations, *eg.*, one seer of rice, half a seer of pulses, vegetables, spices, salt, (oil is considered a bad omen and is prohibited).

Diwali day.—In the morning of the *Diwali* day when *Patari Jimauni* ceremony is to be performed all the men assemble in the courtyard of the house of the deceased. Women busy themselves in clearing and washing their houses. Only the blood relatives get their heads clean-shaven. A *mandawa* or shed of

¹ The Tharus are an aboriginal tribe of Mongoloid descent living in the Tarai region of U.P. especially in the Nainital Tarai.

² A day of remembrance of the dead.

³ A kind of dry eatables.

cloth (*chandani*) is prepared in the courtyard in front of the main house of the deceased. Under this *mandawa* five earthen lamps are placed on five new earthen pitchers which are filled with water by women.

In one corner of the courtyard women cook all their meals. On this occasion both *Kachcha* and *Pakka* meals (e.g., *puris* and rice etc.) are cooked in all their varieties which depend upon the economic status of the family. After the meals are prepared two shares of meals are taken in the name of the departed soul and are placed on two *pataries*.¹ Special care is taken to provide to the deceased any favourite dish or anything edible which was very dear to him in his lifetime. In the *pataries* both cooked and uncooked meals are served, e.g., *chabena* of all kinds, *puris*, rice, *kachauries*, *barapura*, fish, meat, bananas, oranges, sweets etc. All kinds of toilets, e.g., *kajal*, oil, comb and mirror are placed in a big new basket. A glass of wine is also necessary. If the deceased was literate and possessed a *Ramayan*, it is also placed there. A *dhol*² and *jhanjh*³ too find their place under the *mandawa*. Then five or seven sugar canes are brought and placed there. After that they make a *kusa*⁴ and place it under the *mandawa*. All the members of the family gather round the *kusa* and keep flowers in hand. The *Panchhariya*⁵ drops the water from a *lota* over the *kusa* and all of them throws the flowers from their hands along with water on it. After that, meals are served to every one, but the *Panchhariya* is served first of all. Before every one begins to take his or her meal every one takes out a little bit of all the edibles served to him on a *patari*. This *patari* and the *pataries* kept under the *mandawa* are taken to the southern outskirts of the village. Some articles, e.g., an earthen *garuwa* of water, one egg, one hen, one goat, and clippings of hair collected from the shave of the family members and blood relations of the deceased are also placed here along with these *pataries*. All these are placed quite adjacent to the village boundary and, after a couple of hours, the *Panchhariya* brings back hen and goat to be eaten by the guests. It is known as the *Juthera* ceremony.

Now once more two meals are placed under the cover of a basket that is *jhal* beneath the sugar-canes placed under the

¹ A kind of plates made of the leaves of *dhak* or of *baniyan* tree.

² A drum. ³ Cymbal. ⁴ A kind of long grass which symbolises the spirit of the departed.

⁵ The person generally of the first blood relation, e.g., son, who performs all the ceremonies relating to the funeral and other rites connected with it.

mandarwa. An earthen lamp is also lighted. A new cot with a new bed is placed there to provide rest to the spirit of the deceased after meals. All his new clothes, e.g., *dhoti*, *kurta*, etc., prepared for this occasion, are hung on the sugar-canes kept there. The spirit is believed to put on new clothes.

The dance begins late in the evening. A man is usually dressed as a woman with all her dresses, ornaments and styles and is commonly known as *Nach-kayya*—the dancer, who has a party of drummers, and singers who keep rhythm and tune. First of all, the dancer dances and sings before the *kusa* and *jhal* in which the meals are kept. The songs sung on this occasion describe the transitory nature of the world and are full of gloomy forebodings.

As the dance begins late in the evening, the dancer sings a song indicating the approach of the evening and the dance continues till dawn. Songs are sung telling the advance of the night. In the beginning, the dancer enquires of the spirit of the departed how it has arrived. This is described in the following song.

SANJHA

Panchhi kar le Bistrām kaun bhekh men tum āye.
Kāhe ki teri jhagiya kaun baran aswār ?
Resam ki teri jhagiya kuliyyā ghorālā kā aswār
Jhagiya kuliyyā teri khūnirtangi hai phulan sej lagāy
Sone ke thāran bhujanā paro hai upar ghi ki dhār.

EVENING SONG (SANJHA)

Oh 'panchhi!'¹ rest a while. In what form have you come ?
Of what your 'jhagiya'² and cap are made, what is your conveyance?
Silken are your 'jhagiya' and cap, the horse is your conveyance.
Jhagiya and cap are hanging on the sugar-canes, your bed is decorated
with flowers.
In a golden plate your food is served and 'ghee' trickles from above.

DIWALI NACH KE GEET

Kus ki putariyā pāch rang bhajan suran ko āin
Kāhe ko ghorelā kāhe ki jin
Kaun bhaye aswār bhajan sunan ko āi
Lohe ghorelā resam ki jin
Rām bhaye aswār bhajan sunanko āi

SONG OF THE DEWALI DANCE

In five different colours 'putariya' of 'kusa' have come to hear the songs.
Of what horse and saddle are made ?
Who rides on it?, they have come to hear songs.
Ram rides on it, they have come to hear songs.

¹ Literally means a bird but figuratively it stands for the spirit of the departed.

² A kind of loose dress.

When the dancer sings these songs and dances to the accompaniment of *dhol* and *jhanjh*, he feels the presence of the departed spirit. Sometimes he recognises the deceased and shows it by signs and symbols.

The Tharus believe that the spirit of the dead person will definitely come and these songs and dances are arranged in order to please the spirit and to give it solace and comfort.

The songs and dances still continue and after the dancer feels the presence of the spirit he is thrilled and enchanted to give his best performance at that time. All the people assembled there feel an atmosphere of awe, suspense and reverence to the departed soul and they also think that the spirit will now find rest as their efforts have succeeded in calling it back.

BIHAGARO

Arē kaum ban hansā let basero
 Ur gao hansā khāli hoy gayo pichharā
 Arē kāun hamāri nagariyā sūni kar chale
 Chār yār jur mātō kari hai
 Jāi chalo lai chalo hot hai abari,
 Jāi dhari jammā ke kināre
 Phūnk dai jaise hori.

BIHAGARE (SONG)

Oh 'Hansa!' ¹ which forest do you live in?
 'Hansa' flew away, the cage is vacant.
 Who has deserted my village?
 Four relatives have taken away the corpse
 Take it away soon, do not delay,
 Place it on the bank of Jamuna river.
 Burn it into ashes just like *hori*.

DIWALI KE GEET

Kāhe kai tum āye ho panchhi ² nagari suni kar chāle
 Jab janame tab hot badhāi hot mangal chār
 Chār pānch sakhiyān jur mangal gāwain bālak ki hot badhāi
 Bāre rahe bālak sang khele pichhe āwo budhāpo
 Khānsi kaph jab gher lai hai chhor jian ki ās
 Jam ke dūt len ke aye phorat je hārā
 Mudgar mārāin prān nikārāin le gaye jam ke pās
 Chāri yār juri lai chali-hām ūpar kaphan udhāye
 Ban ban ki lakari jori phūnk dai haise hori.

SONG

Why have you come oh 'panchhi' you have left my village in despair
 When you were born there was happiness all around
 Four or five women sang together the auspicious songs when your were
 born

¹ A bird standing for the spirit,

² A bird stands for soul.

When you were young you played with boys then old age followed.
 You were attacked with cough and cold, you lost all hopes of life.
 The messengers of 'Jam' came to take you away and began to break

your bones,

Beating with hammers and taking life out of you they carried you to 'Jam',
 Four relatives took you on their shoulders covering you with a coffin,
 Collected wood from the forests and burnt you just like 'hori'.

KHYAL

Sūno to kar chale desā mahal mero
 Jo bangalā men rām basat hain re
 Kāg basero len are desā mahal mero
 Jo mahal men hasat khailat hain
 Āj dekho ros paro hai

SONG

You have deserted my house and my country
 The house in which Ram² lived
 Now is frequented by the crows
 The house in which we laughed and played
 Now is an abode of pain and sorrows.

GEET

Pinjarā paro hai purāno so tūti binā
 Kāhen ko tero bano pinjarwā kāhen lāgi wāme tār
 Māti ko tero baro re pinjarwā resam lāgi wāme tār

SONG

Without the parrot³ the cage⁴ is useless.
 Of what your cage is made ? of what the strings are made ?
 Your cage is made of dust, the strings are made of silk.

In this way the *Nachkaiyya* sings and dances throughout the night. During his dance *chabena* is distributed among the people assembled there. As the morning approaches, the dancer knows that the spirit of the departed cannot stay any more and he sings such songs which signify the arrival of the dawn. The songs sung especially on this occasion and at this period of the night are known as *kaphi* as shown below.

KAPHI

Chhos cholo re panchhi apaono mandalawā
 Nāny hamāro kusamā goti nāny hamāro koi hai
 Hamari lijo rām sām nāny hamāro koi hai

(KAPHI) SONG

Panchi⁵ has deserted its abode
 There is no one related to my *kurma* ⁶ (or *got*)
 Please accept my Ram Ram⁷ there is no one.

¹ God of Death. ² Ram signifies all prosperity and happiness. ³ Parrot symbolises the spirit. ⁴ Cage, human body. ⁵ Bird, soul. ⁶ Blood relation. ⁷ Tharu salutation.

This song is followed by a number of songs which denote the arrival of the dawn as illustrated below :—

KAPHI

Jāgri nar Jīgau bhor bhayo hai
Kaun jo Kuramā, kaun panchariyā kāe ki putari dai jināy
Pahalo kuramā mā bhayo panchariyāh,
Kus ki putariyā dai hain jinwāy.

KAPHI SONG

Awake! Awake! the dawn has come.
Which relative is Panchariya, which putari has been served with meals
First blood relation is Panchariya, putari of 'kus' has been served
with meals.

Now the dawn comes. All the music and dance come to an end. The Tharus believe that the spirit of the departed has returned to its destination about which they do not hold any definite opinion. The Panchariya takes off all the clothes hanging on the sugar-canes under the *mandawa*. First of all *khir*¹ is prepared by the women. The Panchariya takes this *khir* and those two *pataries* covered by *jhal* and carries them on his shoulders to some river nearby and throws everything in it. When he returns to his village, he does not look back lest he may not be horrified by the spirit which may follow him. He, all his way, feels as if the spirit is following him. It is for this reason that he accompanies a few of his relatives also.

In the morning, the Panchariya is the first person to take his meals and then everyone else can be served. In the evening, the *Nachkariya* sings and dances just to utilise the night and keep everyone awake because they fear that the spirit may attack them. The earthen lamps are lighted and are kept burning throughout the night under the *mandawa*. The dancer and his party can sing any kind of songs but not those of *Holi* which are full of vulgar and obscene jokes. The songs with philosophical ideas are favoured on this occasions.

BIHAGARO

Duniyān¹ ajab tamāso hai
Ikalo aihai ikalo jaihai ran man phirai akele
Mratya lok men melā lago hai melā Karan chale jānya
Melā karake dagar chale alakh rūp ko, melā.

¹ A sweet preparation of rice and milk.

BIHAGARO SONG

The world is a wonderful fair.
You will come and go alone, your soul wanders lonely.
In the world of death there are fairs you go to these fairs
You have made a round in the fair, then the fair of heaven follows.

In the next morning again meals are served to everyone but during the day there is almost no ceremony or activity. In the evening when the moon¹ becomes visible the *mandawa* is brought down. The women take out all the clothes, pitchers, bed and all the things which were placed under the *mandawa* and leave them towards the western outskirts of the village. Before the dawn they go to the same spot where they have left all the things, break the pitchers, throw the water and bring back everything which is not altogether useless for their household work.

Then the Diwali comes to an end.

¹ Moon of Dwij (2nd month of Hindi).

A NOTE ON THE GADABAS OF KORAPUT DISTRICT

A. M. SOMASUNDARAM

THE Gadabas are an aboriginal tribe, numbering nearly 44,000 according to the Census Report of 1931. They are found scattered in small villages of Koraput district in Orissa. A small section among them, in the past had migrated to the northern Taluks of Vizagapatam district, while a few members of the tribe inhabit the States of Bastar and Kalhandi.

It is difficult to trace the origin of this tribe, though undoubtedly they represent the most aboriginal substratum. In the absence of any documentary evidence to prove their primitive origin, we have to depend upon the meagre references made by scholars like G. Ram Doss, D. N. Majumdar, B. C. Majumdar, and others, who casually tried to trace something about their ancestry in their works. G. Ram Doss whose essay on the Gadabas is the only available detailed record of the tribe, dealing with its origin writes as follows : "It is not possible to connect their tribal name with any of their present-day professions. But if we study their marriage and funeral rites, the native occupation can be observed and the origin of the name can be discovered". He further adds that "the formalities strictly observed to propitiate the manes of a dead man tell us clearly of the ancient habitat of the tribe" and that "the Gadabas soon after they dispose of the corpse, go into a brooke or stream, bathe therein and catch fish". Angling, even to-day forms an important subsidiary occupation among the Gadabas, and lends to the hypothesis that they should have long ago resided by the side of a river. In Koraput district, Gadabas usually build their villages on the bank of a stream or a rivulet. B. C. Majumdar is of the opinion that the Gadabas proceeded to their present habitat from the bank of the river Godavari. The term "Gadaba" should have originated from the river Godavari. In the Saora dialect the word 'go' denotes greatness, and 'da' signifies water. Hence the euphonic combination of the word *Goda* would be, "great water", meaning the river Godavari. This suggestion is highly significant, because very often the Gadabas and the Saoras are classified as belonging to the same ethnic stock.

Another fact also supports the contention that the Gadabas have in the past migrated from the banks of the river Godavari. The old and the orthodox among the Gadabas even to-day tell us that they once belonged to the region on the northern banks of the river Godavari. Rama Nayak, a resident of Sopurambo, a village nearly 6 miles from Nandapur, the ancient capital of Jeypore State which is thought to be the threshold of Gadaba culture, has given me the followig information regarding the origin of his tribe. "We, the Gadabas, treat the Khond, as inferior to us, since he eats monkey and resides unlike us on the slopes of the hills. Monkey, we consider, is the great Hunuman and its flesh is prohibited among us. We worship river Godavari on each festive occasion. We offer her fowls and flowers. Each family separately performs *pooja* on special occasions. We treat Godavari as our tribal goddess.

Dr. D. N. Majumdar connects the Gadabas with Munda family. He observes that the Gadabas "in the state of Jeypore are the only representative of the Munda speaking people" and they are "now a small occupational group of palanquin bearers, living east of Jagdalpur and whose cultural life may be distinguished from the rest of the tribal stock". He further goes on to write that the Gadabas belong to the Austro-Asiatic linguistic family. The Telugu Anthropologist Dr. G. V. Sithapatti supports this view on the ground that both ethnologically and linguistically, the Mundas, the Santals, the Juangs, and the Gutobs and Parengs, —the two important sects in the Gadaba tribe, belong to the same family. Dr. B. S. Guha writes that the Proto-Australoid type is the most dominant element at present in the tribal population of the greater part of Southern and Peninsular India. According to him the features of the Proto-Australoids, consist of wavy and even curly hair, developed supra-orbital ridges, a sunken nasal root, average stature, fleshy, everted lips and skin colour approaching black. The Gadabas answer to this description.

Thus the ancestry and the origin of the tribe can be vaguely ascertained. Unfortunately scholars and field workers of repute, but for very rare exceptions, have not made any special study of this tribe, whose ancestry is clouded in mystery and whose culture is slowly being merged into the strong current of advanced civilisation.

The primitive character of the tribe can very well be established by a close observation of the marriage and death ceremonies prevalent among its members, which serve to-day as

the only relic of ancient glory and of unimpaired independence enjoyed by these people at one stage of human history. If we accept that the "Marriage by capture" is a very primitive pattern of matrimony in some form or other, it is still in vogue among the Gadabas. But the death-rites will undoubtedly throw more light upon the primitiveness of the tribe. Hence a description of the death-rites among the Gadabas will not be out of place.

Two reasons have prompted me to describe this aspect of Gadaba life. The Gadabas are treated almost as a separate entity by the other tribes in the district even though the former claim that they are a branch of the Parjas, a very large tribe found in the Koraput district. In Madugula estate of Vizagapatam district, the small number of the Gadabas residing there are treated as low in the social scale of tribal population. Secondly, the Gottar ceremony is a peculiar institution found among the Gadabas only. No other tribe resorts to this practice and hence in the district of Koraput they are treated as a separate caste. Beef, among the Khond, Jatup, Parja, Konda Dora, Muka Dora, Gond, and Koya, the important tribes of Koraput district and the semi-aboriginal population like the Rona, the Mali, the Bagra, is prohibited as edible dish. But among the Gadabas there is no such taboo and this factor also accounts for their slightly lower position in tribal society. A Rona will not dine with a Gadaba but not vice versa. But the Ghasis and the Doms, the criminal population of the district who form the untouchable bulk in the society, do eat beef and they consider the Gadabas as superior to them. Thus dietary restrictions and sacramental peculiarities to a certain extent have made the Gadabas remain as somewhat isolated groups among the aboriginal substratum.

Like many tribes of the Munda ethnic stock, the Gadabas are the worshippers of ancestral spirits. Though their religion embraces small deities and evil goddesses, like Takurani, Durga, etc., these should be deemed as later innovations in their divine realm. Yet there are very strong reasons for us to believe that the tribe was once formed after totemistic fashion. The tribe is divided into five clans, each clan having several families called *gotras*. Each *gotra* derives its name from an animal, bird or tree. For instance, the Tiger, the Serpent, the Sun, the Bear, the Snake are some of the clan totems and though to-day these totem objects have lost much of their importance in the social and religious life of the community, yet occasionally they are also

worshipped and mourned. The members of the Tiger clan, for instance, treat the animal with great reverence and think that the tiger would protect them against all evils. They usually do not kill the beast unless for purposes of self defence, that too very rarely. They have a firm belief that the totem animal would not kill them. Members of a *gotra* treat themselves as brothers and sisters.

Besides the totem animal, each *gotra* has its own god to worship. The group of the ancestral spirits is known as "Sapade" meaning combination. In the kitchen room of the hut, the Gadabas keep their gods. In some villages I have witnessed small stones placed securely in a separate place in the hut very carefully allowing none to enter the place where they are erected. Thus the family gods are held in great esteem and the Gadabas think that it is their primary duty to treat them with great care. The ancestral spirits containing those of the paternal as well as maternal great grandfather, grandfather, father, uncle, etc., are invoked whenever occasion arises.¹

The religion of the Gadabas must be linked up with their worship of ancestral spirits and with the death ceremonies, obviously because of their belief in the influence of these spirits over the destinies of living members in the tribe. Their main goal of such worshipping of gods, animals and spirits is centred round their fear that direliction of religious duties would result in their utter ruin. Hence appeasement of gods and spirits through the process of *pooja* offerings and sacrifice is attempted as many times as possible. Besides, the material culture of the Gadabas being very crude as that of many other tribes, it emphasises only two factors, (1) material progress of the tribe and (2) salvation to their ancestors. Material progress and prosperity are sought by performing *poojas* to the gods and salvation to ancestors is achieved by the death-rites and Gottar ceremony.

Death ceremony among the Gadabas is a simple affair. The wealthy members of the tribe will get the dead persons cremated; the rest will be buried. When a person dies, the news will be carried to the kith and kin through a messenger, usually a Dom. They all visit the deadman's hut all the way weeping. They sincerely believe that if they do not observe mourning, the dead person will not attain peace. Each man will bring with him a piece of new cloth and a copper coin and

¹ This is a common practice among the Munda speaking tribes of the Chota-Nagpur Plateau, Bihar. D. N. M.

these will be presented to the son of the diseased. All will assemble in the front yard observing strict silence. The corpse will be kept in a corner of the hut and an oil lamp lighted near its head. All the women sit round the dead body and weep. The *Disari* or the religious head is not invited on the occasion. After all the relatives have come to see the dead body, it is removed outside the hut. It is given bath with five or six pots of water. Afterwards, castor oil and vermilion are applied to the body and another bath is given. The body then is wrapped with a white new cloth. In places like Sambliguda, the Gadabas do not carry the body in a coffin, but in places like Lamphaput of Nandapur Tana, they prepare a bamboo coffin and the dead body is carried on it to the graveyard. There, a pyre is made and all the articles belonging to the dead person will be removed. The fire is lighted either by the brother or the sister's son.

Where the coffin is not prepared, six persons raise the body upon their shoulders and carry it to the graveyard. All the villagers and the relatives follow the corpse. It is also customary that if the husband dies the wife will follow the company of mourners to the burial ground and vice versa. If it is a female body, the head is placed eastward while the male's head is always put westward. A nephew is preferred to a son to perform the *karma*. Only in the absence of the nephew or the brother, the son is allowed to perform the death-rites. Persons dying of leprosy or small-pox are always given a burial. If a man dies of tiger or bear attack, he will be given cremation but that will take place on the spot itself. In this case, however, the *Disari* will be invited and he will perform *pooja* with flowers. After the body is cremated, the *Disari* in order to protect the members from the wrath of the animal will post 4 iron nails in a rectangular shape and it is believed that the animal if it does any harm will be entrapped in this area. If they do not perform this *pooja*, they believe that the spirit of the dead person feels restless and brings untold misery on the members of the family.

The period of pollution in connection with death ceremony is generally 10 days, but in some cases only 5 days are considered as sufficient period to mourn the dead. On the first day, after the burial or cremation is over, all the members go to a stream, take bath, catch fish, which is cooked with rice at home in a corner of the yard. This substance they take in a pot or a cup and throw it away on the way leading to the graveyard. This done, they all dine together. In some places, second day passes without any ceremony. But in Villages of Nandapur Tana,

on that day at about seven in the morning in a cup the Gadabas carry milk and plantains and leave them on the way leading to the cremation ground. In these areas it appears that they observe pollution for 5 days only. The Gadabas here spend the third and fourth days without any ceremony. On the 5th day, a feast is given to the clansfolk with two or three bags of rice. Each member who is invited to the party will bring a potful of '*londha*' or '*pendam*' or the ragibeer, which is more intoxicating than the distilled liquor. Excess of drink and beef form the main items of the feast. This will bring to the close the annual mortuary rite.

Where 10 days are observed as the period of pollution on the third day, the members of the deceased person's clan will touch oil and vermillion. Both men and women take bath. The women will prepare food consisting of fish and rice which the males carry to the spot of cremation. Along with it, they also throw wine, rice and meat in the name of the dead. It is a custom that for these 3 days they eat beef and drink *pendum* to the full. On the 10th day a general feast is given to the relatives, the expenses being borne by the members of the family. G. Ram Doss tells us that this feast is meant for the peace of the departed soul. A buffalo or an old cow is slaughtered and *pendum*, in abundance is taken and thus the death-rites for the year will come to a close.

It is obligatory on the part of every Gadaba that he should perform the Gottar or Gotra ceremony within two or three years after the death of his father or mother. Gottar is a peculiar but sacred institution among the Gadabas. It is performed in honour of their ancestors. It involves the sacrifice of many buffaloes or cows, sometimes the expenses coming to Rs. 800/-. Before I describe the barbaric method by which these innocent animals are most brutally put to death, I should like to reproduce here the Report of the Special Asst. Agent Koraput district, about the Gotra ceremony performed by the Gadabas. The report reads as follows : In my recent tours of Padwa and Nandapur Police Stations I noticed the existence of a ceremony (Gotra ceremony by name) among the Gadabas. The ceremony is a bloody carnival and would be stopped by all means, in my opinion, as a measure of reforming that section of hill tribe who perform it.

"The Gadabas believe that their dead relatives do not attain salvation or rebirth and the dead spirits hover in between the sky and the earth in a torturous manner unless the ceremony

is performed by their near and dear ones left behind. So a Gadaba, to put an end to the torturous existence of the dead relatives, chooses a day in the month of Magh (Jan-Feb.) and performs the ceremony. He buys as many he-buffaloes as the dead spirits he wants to risk and for several days before the date of the ceremony he and his family members treat the animals with utmost regard. In fact, the animals are treated as father, mother, uncle or anybody else who died and the women weep at their feet describing the sorrows they had after the dead relatives' departure from the world. Queerly enough on the date of the ceremony at about midday all the animals are tied to pegs in a row in an open field belonging to the Gadaba who performs the ceremony and a large number of drunken Gadabas gather there. To the number of buffaloes brought there by the performer of the ceremony, some more are added at the last moment by the man's well-to-do relatives who may be the sons-in-law or the nephews of the dead man. Some are in turn taken away by the relatives and the rest, usually a big number, are let loose amidst boisterous amusements of the surrounding crowds and are butchered in a most hideous manner. The drunken Gadabas of the village and from far and near, who are invited on the occasion vie with one another in striking with axes the buffaloes trembling in agony under the murderous strokes. The animals are chased and their life taken out in this cruel manner and all then prowl upon the creatures to drag their intestines in a most clamorous manner after tramping out and hitting upon one another."

G. Ram Doss has brought to light another important feature witnessed in this monstrous performance. He writes, "A sumptuous feast with plenty of intoxicating drinks is given to all that come for the occasion and also to all the inhabitants of the village. On the appointed day a post of *salimi* wood is planted in the middle of an open place adjoining the village. The host first ties to it an old cow or a buffalo in the name of the departed soul. The others then tie the animals they have brought with them. Each of these animals is fed with one or two rupees mixed with bran. Then all of them are given away to the sisters' husbands and they are asked to hold them. Both men and women of the whole gathering ... hold sharpened axes in their hands. As soon as the animals are untethered each of them is pursued by these drunken persons. The object is to pull out through the anus the coins with which the animal has been fed. The pursuers wound the animal with the axes, pull

out its flesh, thrush their arms through the anus, and pull out the entrails. Every one secures in his lap whatever flesh he could get. The animals below in their agony and the men and women howl in excitement. ... He that could extract the coins from the bowels of an animal is considered to be fortunate and it is believed that his crops would flourish that year .. The ceremony is intended, I believe, to bring together all the members descended from one ancestor so that they might not though living in distant places forget their relationship."

Gottar is also known as Dumma Pooja. It is both an individual and a communal affair. The simple or individual form is known as Bhai-Bhai-Demose. This ceremony is performed only by the brothers of a dead person. It lasts nearly 7 days. On the first day all the brothers join and collect paddy at the rate of 12 seers for each of their families. The paddy then is pounded into rice. For 3 days the brothers go to the hill and collect fire wood. They plant the branch of silk cotton tree (*Salimi*) on a ground commonly owned by all of them. The buffalo will be tied to it for six days. On the 7th day at about 3 in the evening they remove the beast along with the pole and take it to a field where a few stones are erected for the purpose. The victim before it is killed is fed with rice and then let loose. The brothers each having a sharpened axe chase the animal, giving brutal and deadly strokes on all parts of the body. The audience will witness the murderous scene with excitement and interest. If there is *Disari* he is also allowed to participate. All these people will fully get themselves intoxicated with *pendum*. Generally the beast dies with five or six strokes. When it is dead the brothers will not touch it. It will be dragged to the village by others. The meat will be eaten only by the members of the eldest brother's family and the rest of the villagers if they so like it. But the drum-beaters like the Dom and the brothers of the performer should not eat it. If the ceremony is not performed the spirit of the dead person will appear to the eldest brother and harrass him constantly threatening him with untold suffering and misery. It is believed that it will take the toll of men and cattle belonging to the family.

Communal Gottar is participated by the entire village or even groups of villages. This function will take place once in five or six years. The Gadabas believe that by performing the Gottar all their sins are washed off. Usually the rich takes the initiative, while the poorer members of the tribe cannot afford to perform general Gottar.

The person who invites all the relatives and friends will store grain for 3 years to meet their requirements. Each of the guests will bring with him an animal and a pot of liquor. The performance is given in honour of Sapade or group of ancestral spirits. For each departed soul a buffalo is bought. The performance lasts for 11 days. They will be purchased just a week prior to the day of ceremony. On the first day they feed the animals with food and liquor in the names of the spirits for whom they are to be sacrificed. The brother-in-law and the son-in-law with their wives and children will attend to the needs of the animal feeding them sumptuously and treating them with utmost care. The rule generally observed is that the animal is to be fed in the house for a week, a period necessary for the *pendum* to get fermented. The animals are called after the names of the departed soul. For these 8 days *olsai* oil and vermilion are applied to the animal; they are given regular bath; they are decorated with flowers and *sindur*. Women belonging to the family approach the animal every day and weep before them. Further, with loud voices they narrate all the evils happened after the death of the person and in particular their own sufferings and handicaps caused to them by his death. The poor savages believe most innocently that the dead man's spirit has entered the animal and as such the latter can understand them with intelligence, respond to their request, hear their complaints carefully and sympathise with them by shedding tears. The clothes, the weapons and the vessels once used by the dead person will be tied round the neck and wrapped round the stomach of the animal. In order to satisfy the spirit believed to have hidden in the animal they will cleanse with cowdung the middle of the path through which the dead person was carried to the cremation ground and there they place 3 cups of jack leaves filled with rice, *pendum*, mutton, fish, etc. They believe that the spirit through the animal will receive food given in its honour. After 10 days are passed in this manner the animals are killed as described by Ram Doss and others.

Gottar ceremony though a peculiarity of the tribes of the Koraput district is in some other form practised by the Saoras of Parlakimedi Agency. Ancestor worship is the common religious feature not only of the many tribes and castes in our country but is observed among tribal groups of China, Philliphines, etc. Among the Chinese, ancestral spirits are worshipped every year. Special ancestral halls are constructed in every rich Chinese home. Wine, fruit and other delicacies are offered to the spirits.

Buffalo-killing in ceremonial fashion is resorted to by the Gadabas and the Saoras. The same motives which compel the Gadabas to conduct Gottar will prompt the Saoras to celebrate "Gour" ceremony where 50 to 60 animals are killed as in the case of the Gottar ceremony.

Whatever may be the reasons for its performance, Gottar is a very barbarous form of magico-religious practice. While no one knows whether by conducting this practice the Gadaba ancestors will attain salvation and gain ever-lasting peace, every person who has the misfortune of witnessing the scene cannot but feel that it is inhuman and that the fate of the innocent animals is sealed. It has already been recommended by the Sub-Agent of the Koraput Agency to put this practice down by systematic propaganda and has requested the District Magistrate to take suitable steps to put an end to this horrible practice. It is much regrettable that so far no action has been taken systematically either by the State authorities of Jeypore or the Governmental agency of the district. Nevertheless, it is very refreshing to note that where Government has failed to invoke a spirit of mercy towards the dumb animals and humane feelings among the Gadabas, the propaganda carried on by some good workers of the Congress has done something to stop them doing it at least in some villages.

ANTHROPOMETRY AND CRIME:

An anthropometric and serological study of jail population in some jails in Eastern Pakistan

D. N. MAJUMDAR

I

CRIMINALS are said to vary in their type and character. Lombroso believed in a criminal type and brought weighty evidence in support of his assumption. Goring, though differed with Lombrosian technique of typing, demonstrated that English criminals as a group are very inferior in physical development to the law abiding population. Hooton thinks that the biological inferiority of the criminal is no less marked than his economic incompetence and ineffectiveness and general stupidity. (Homo-sapiens—Whence and Whither, *Science*, U. S. LXXXII 1935., p. 30.) Identical twins have been observed to react definitely in similar manner than fraternal twins, with regard to crime. Not all agree with the heredity of crime, for environment receives thousands of unfortunates who are forced to a career of crime.

Kretschmer describes certain constitutional types of criminals. The body types he calls Pyknic, Leptosome and Athletic. The Pyknic is characterised by narrow bodily cavities associated with long limbs. The Leptosome has large body cavities but short limbs. The Athletic possesses symmetrical body proportions. The constitutional types have been associated with different patterns of crime. Thus Leptosome carefully 'plans his delinquent acts', the Pyknic is 'prone to intemperance and sex excesses' and is usually the leader of daring criminal enterprises, and so on.

Regarding the feeble-minded and the psychopathic, estimates of their percentage in the prison population in different countries vary considerably from 18 p.c. to 38 p.c. Some prisons report 20 to 25 p.c. feeble-minded alone. According to one estimate 80 p.c. of the criminals are said to possess subnormal intelligent quotient. Of the 1979 cases investigated by Prof. Roots (1924-26), he found 70 imbeciles incapable of further education; 661 morons who are not educable,—they have never

gone, and never will go beyond the primary stage; 882 borderline and dull normals who could not go beyond the 7th standard; 296 apparently normal persons who would profit by a vocational training; and only 70 persons of superior intellect. The mental testing of 300 prostitutes undertaken by the University of Copenhagen in Denmark show that 48 p.c. of the prostitutes were retarded in intelligence, 25 p.c. were constitutionally psychopathic, 8 p.c. suffered from hysteric diseases, many were morons or were victims of self-indulgence, even of homo-sexuality. Gruhle's researches had shown that 18 p.c. of the criminal population in Germany were traceable to bad environment, while 82 p.c. could be put to inborn dispositions. These estimates are not given much credence due to the absence of unanimity regarding the validity of psychological tests, particularly those which are used to determine the Intelligence Quotient. (I.Q.).

The influence of the ductless glands on the growth of the body and some of its parts requires careful evaluation. The less development of some of the glands, their malfunctioning may render the entire body system out of gear. For example, it has been claimed that the lack of balance of some of the glands may affect sexual maturity and disturb normal sexual life. Diseases of particular glands may produce nervous annoyance, intolerance, hysteria and neurasthenia. Imbecility, giantism and dwarfism are alleged to be caused by the malfunctioning of some of the glands. If the disorder of the ductless glands, as claimed by competent physiologists, have such effect on physiology and general mental life, it is perhaps natural to seek in the disharmonic body proportions and somatological anomalies, the roots of criminal behaviour.

Sheldon's study of morphological types has brought new hopes in the ultimate correlation between body build and diseases or temperamental maladjustments. The asymmetries or disharmonies of the body build constitute what Sheldon speaks of as 'dysplasia'. He classifies the varieties of human physique, into three types with two others, one of which he calls balanced and the other sporadic between whom he distributes the human population. The human physique he classifies into 79 types. The structural basis of these large varieties are three, which he calls, Endomorphs, Mesomorphs and Ectomorphs. The first, according to Sheldon, is characterised by a predominance of 'soft-roundedness throughout the different regions of the body, with an exaggeration of the digestive viscera'. It is called Endomorph, because the digestive viscera is derived principally

from endoderm, which is the inner germ layer. The Mesomorph is typed on the basis of accentuated development of certain structural forms of the body, derived from the mesoderm, while Ectomorph represents a type characterised by the predominance of surface area relative to bulk and of the brain and central nervous system relative to 'mass'. The last gives the impression of a delicate and fragile body build. According to Hooton, Sheldon's Endomorphs and Mesomorphs resemble in general structure the Pyknic and the Athletic, though the latter is more functional than structural, while Ectomorph may be the same as 'Asthenic' of Krestchmer. It is only when we come to the details of the criteria for the somatotyping that our difficulty becomes pronounced. The taxonomic scheme is determined by standardized photographs on which Sheldon used a measuring technique on the negatives with 'pin-point callipers' from which he derived the indices. Care, of course, was taken to see that the photographs were free from optical distortion. If the photographic technique is found superior to the usual anthropometric one used in criminal typing the possibilities of the method must be admitted.

II

Mental diseases provide incentive to crime, and it would be worthwhile to notice how far our data from primitive and archaic societies, explain the incidence of particular types of crime and criminal behaviour. Regional factors are supposed to cause mental diseases. The arctic people are said to be extremely suggestible. As soon as the children begin to dance, men and women, even old persons among them would join in and behave as children do. The Laplanders are said to be hyper-sensitive and 'an unexpected touch, whistling at a distance or strange appearance throw them into a fury'. The Siberians are said to be subject to night mare and spells of somnambulism, they are even known to sing in sleep, though in their waking hours, they plead ignorance of the experience. Arctic hysteria consists of maniacal attacks, spasms, trances, howls, dances and epileptoid seizure. The equatorial zones similarly throw into question, the hereditability of mental disorders. In many primitive societies, the stereotyped pattern of life does not allow sufficient latitude for deviations in the affairs of life. Neither does primitive society provide scope for the development of hypernormal or abnormal personality, as the weaklings who fail to adjust themselves to the realities of life are eliminated in traditional ways. The maladjusted child finds no competent care-taking to enable it to survive

and live long. Yet maladjustment proceeds in the wake of culture change. A socialized or rigid pattern of life is not compatible with needs and requirements of changing configurations of desires, attitudes and personal aims. The same social organisation, which eliminates the maladjusted child, develops the germs of maladjustment, for the seeds of psychic tension are generated in the nature of changing cultures or contact-economics. As the social life in primitive society does not compromise with individual differences and deviations of desire from the group norm, those individuals who have initiative, intelligence, sublimated impulses would fail to orient themselves. Again the born leaders, and hereditarily equipped individuals or gifted ones, would find the limits of social development irksome and stifling; also the individuals who have been crippled by disease find conformity uncongenial to their personality development, so that these naturally will crave for freedom; and an intense desire to redress the inequities of the normal environment is likely to produce misfits and engender neurosis. The territorial basis of primitive structure while it provides a familiar and unchanging reality with regard to their habitat, also develops a monotony which needs be relieved by orgies and uncanny feats, dances and weird seances, resulting in tribal warfare and vendetta. The bleakness of the northern regions of the globe or the monotony of the desert even of the riverine or deltaic parts of India, produce inactivity and isolate personality so that as Weyer says (*The Eskimos*, p. 386), 'the prolonged darkness and monotony of winter contribute to the prevalence of peculiar mental disorder among the people round the polar region.' The balance of mind that is created by social intercourse and by a manipulative contact with the environment cannot be maintained in the absence of the latter, thus producing the high tension which may find a release in neurosis, while social mobility and a great tempo of life produce disharmony in personality adjustment; isolation and monotony also do account for mental unbalance or development of the Shaman personality, orgies, weird recitals of hymns and spells and even mutilations and cicatrices on the person, and other like uncanny experiences in primitive society.

The criminal activities of many primitive tribes may be traced to a disorganisation of family life, to the stifling of individual initiative by a rigorous code of tribal conduct, and temperamental maladjustments. Many a case of suicide has occurred among the Hos of Singbhum and other tribes of the

Munda group in Bihar, from a feeling of neglect and frustration in young women, and many murders have been committed on the slight pretext of nonconformity with the tribal pattern of conduct regarding duties and obligations. Women are too touchy and temperamental and cruelty, desertion or inattention has made them pay dearly by making them antisocial. Barren women or women who have been maltreated by their families, have taken to witchcraft and sorcery, who end by committing suicide or become victims of tribal wrath and meet violent death at the hands of their own people. Excessive drinking, adultery and faithlessness are some of the important causes explaining the incidence of tribal crime.

III

In the pages that follow, I would like to present some anthropometric and serological data on jail population in Bengal prior to partition of India. The work was begun in 1945 and was completed just before the transfer of power to the people in 1947. While the Bengal anthropological survey was on, (it was done under the auspices of the Indian Statistical Institute), we visited many districts in Eastern Bengal and were pleasantly surprised to find in some of the jails among convicts and under-trial prisoners, physical features which were a striking contrast to those commonly met with among the civilian population of the districts. We decided to take measurements of the jail population but this was not immediately possible due to restrictions in force with regard to jail discipline and other relevant causes, but a beginning could be made and we continued the inquiry till we could collect data from 4 district jails in Bengal, the last of which was visited towards the end of 1946. The data we are presenting in this paper were from Barisal, Mymensingh, Rungpore and Malda jails. The first two districts are in the Dacca division, situated in the deltaic Bengal, and Rungpore and Malda are in northern Bengal. Except Malda, all the districts are in Eastern Pakistan. The three districts of Barisal, Mymensingh and Rungpore are notoriously criminal districts, while Malda has a floating population consisting of upcountry Muslims who have settled for the mango crop which is easily the most important cash crop of the district and the entire trade is handled by men from the upcountry, who take trees on rent and reap a substantial dividend. In all the districts, the barometer of crime fluctuates with prospects or otherwise of harvests, paddy and jute being the main crops that

support a high rural aggregation, probably the highest rural density in the world. The Muslim ratio in the population reaches 70 to 80 p.c. in the three districts, Barisal (72), Mymensingh (77) and Rungpore (71) while there is approximately fifty-fifty ratio between Hindu and Muslim in Malda. Elsewhere we have detailed the causes that lead to the high incidence of crime in these parts. (*Matrix of Indian Culture*). The causes that produce certain types of crime like rape, abduction and murder are known to be sociological rather than racial. Rice cultivation necessitates joint living and cooperative farming. The demands for agricultural labour are so great indeed that even women are drafted to farm occupations. The latter are secured by polygynous marriages or by abduction,—the latter has become a scourge and has made family life unstable in these parts.

In the districts of Mymensingh and Rungpore crime against women, rape and abduction, account for a large percentage of convicts, while dacoity, arson, murder and theft constitute the major offences in Barisal and Malda.

Our first problem was to decide how to select the material for study. Every jail has a population of under-trial prisoners with or without previous convictions, particularly so in districts which are notorious for high incidence of crime and criminality. The prison population also consisted of persons convicted for theft, pick-pocketing or pilfering, which are minor offences. We decided, however, to measure those who have been convicted for long periods, usually two years and above and those under-trials who were charged with serious offences like rape, murder, arson and abduction, *with previous conviction* for similar long period. This I realise may not be the ideal way of selecting the subjects for measurement, but that is what I did and the results of the analysis should be viewed in the light of the difficulties natural to such inquiries.

The total number of persons we measured in the four jails was 875. A large number among them were also blood grouped. The technique of measurements was the same as we used for the collection of the U.P. data and that of serology has been detailed in the *Eastern Anthropologist* (Vol. I No. 1, 1947). The blood groups' result is given in the table below :

The serological data do not distinguish the various samples from one another except that of Malda which are significantly different from the other populations with respect to the p and q genes. As the total number in Malda jail is only 45, it is doubtful if the difference even if it be statistically significant, does

tell much. The percentage of B in the four samples is not as high as one would expect in the lower castes in Bengal; on the other hand there is also a high incidence of A which one finds

TABLE I

BLOOD GROUP FREQUENCIES OF JAIL POPULATION IN BENGAL (PRE-PARTITION)
NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE IN BRACKETS

Jails	O	A	B	AB	p	q	r
Malda (45)	14 (31.11)	12 (26.66)	14 (31.11)	5 (11.11)	0.24	0.22	0.55
Mymensingh (112)	34 (30.55)	26 (23.21)	42 (37.50)	10 (8.92)	0.27	0.18	0.55
Rungpore (148)	48 (32.43)	32 (21.62)	56 (37.83)	12 (8.10)	0.26	0.17	0.57
Barisal (136)	43 (31.61)	30 (22.05)	51 (37.50)	12 (8.82)	0.27	0.17	0.56

among the upper Hindu castes and among Muslims of northern India. This indicates either the predominance of North Indian element in the jail populations, or that the criminal elements need not belong to the exterior element or to tribes of the province.

Tables III and IV detail the anthropometric data. Table III represents the analysis of the convict data with regard to mean values with standard errors by groups and characters. Table IV gives the standard deviations with standard errors by groups and characters, and table II shows the reduced coefficient of racial likeness with standard errors. A detailed study of the anthropometric data is reserved for a later publication. The variation in cephalic index can be seen from the percentage distribution. In the Mymensingh jail, there were 1.59 p.c. having a cephalic index below 70, 27.47 p.c. between 70 and 75, 51.11 p.c. between 75 and 80 and 19.80 p.c. above 80. In other words the jail population is largely mesocephalic or dolichocephalic, though Bengal is said to be a brachycephalic province.

Nearly 60 p.c. possess a stature, above 160 cms. and 26.51 p.c. above 165 cms. In nasal index, only 6.38 p.c. could be placed in the group with a nasal index above 80; 18.53 p.c. having N.I. below 65; 29.39 between 65 and 70; 30.03 p.c. between 70-75 and 15.65 p.c. between 75 and 80. In other

words, there are a large percentage of convicts, dolichocephalic and leptorrhine, with moderately high stature.

In Barisal, the largest group 48.72 p.c. have a C.I. between 75 and 80; 17.37 p.c. above 80; 32.20 p.c. between 70 and 75 and only 1.69 p.c. below 70. 34.74 p.c. have a stature between 160 and 165 cms., 21.18 p.c. above 165 cms., 26.69 p.c. between 155 and 160, cms., and only 17.37 p.c. below 155. The majority of the convicts have a N.I. below 75; only 13.98 p.c. between 75 and 80 and 5.50 p.c. above 80.

In Rungpore, 10.48 p.c. of the convicts have a C.I. below 70; 45.96, between 70 and 75; 34.67 p.c. between 75 and 80 and 8.87 above 80. 41.52. p.c. own a stature of 160 cms. and below 35.48 p.c. between 160 and 165 cms., and 22.98 p.c. above 165 cms., 63.69 p.c. of the convicts have a N.I. of 75 and below, 20.16 p.c. between 75 and 80 and 15.32 p.c. above 80.

The C.I. of the Malda convicts falls largely within the group 75 and below, 35.99 p.c. having a C.I. between 75 and 80, and 9.33 p.c. above 80. 35.98 p.c. have, a stature of 160 and below and the rest above 160 cms., 21.33 being above 165 cms. The nasal index varies considerably. Only 17.33 p.c. have a N.I. higher than 80; 27.99 p.c. between 75 and 80; 33.33 p.c. between 70 and 75 and 21.32 have a N.I. of 70 and below.

The C.R.L. values are given in Table II. The formula used in calculating the reduced Coefficient of Racial Likeness and its standard error is given by the expression

$$50 \times \frac{\bar{n}_1 + \bar{n}_2}{\bar{n}_1 \times \bar{n}_2} \left\{ \frac{1}{m} \sum_m (\alpha) - 1 \right\} \pm 50 \times \frac{\bar{n}_1 + \bar{n}_2}{\bar{n}_1 \times \bar{n}_2} \cdot 0.7449 \sqrt{\frac{2}{m}}$$

where (α) stands for

$$\left\{ \frac{M_s - M_{s'}}{\sigma_s^2} \times \frac{n_s \times n_{s'}}{n_s + n_{s'}} \right\}$$

M_s , σ_s and n_s are the mean, standard deviation and number of individuals respectively for the first series and $M_{s'}$, $\sigma_{s'}$ and $n_{s'}$ as the corresponding constants for the second series. \bar{m} is the number of characters compared, which in this case is 15. \bar{n}_1 is the mean number of individuals for whom the characters used in computing the coefficients are recorded in the case of the first series and \bar{n}_2 is the same for the second series. For complete mathematical deduction of the formula please refer to the article by Dr. G. M. Morant, D.Sc., on the Physical Anthropology of the

Swat and Hunza Valleys, based on Records collected by Sir Aurel Stein in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* Vol. LXVI Jan-June 1936.

TABLE II

(Jail Data)

REDUCED. C. R. L. WITH STANDARD ERRORS

No.	Jails	Mymensingh	Rungpore	Malda	Barisal
1	Mymensingh	..	5.2713 ±.0890	6.0781 ±.2040	1.7115 ±.0982
2	Rungpore	5.2713 ±.0890	..	1.0789 ±.2142	8.4448 ±.1092
3	Malda	6.0781 ±.2040	1.0789 ±.2142	..	11.1562 ±.2372
4	Barisal	1.7115 ±.0982	8.4448 ±.1092	11.1562 ±0.2327	..

From the values recorded, it appears that the jail population as far as they go, are regionally affiliated in the sense that the northern Bengal jails have similar population, so also Mymensingh and Barisal in Eastern Bengal. There is no significant differences, between the jails in northern Bengal and there are none between those in Eastern Bengal. While between Mymensingh and Rungpore the C.R.L. is 5.2713; and Mymensingh and Malda, it is 6.0781; between Barisal and Malda it is 11.1562 and between Barisal and Rungpore, it is 8.4448. Evidently there is closer relationship between the jails of a region than between different regions. There is less brachycephaly in the northern district jails than in the eastern, as one would expect. More platyrrhiny is found in the northern jails, than in the eastern, a fact which is very significant, for it probably shows that the jail population in the northern districts are composed of a large percentage of dolichocephalic and platyrrhine people, while the eastern jails have a preponderance of leptorrhine and mesorrhine people. This may mean that the population of the jails have an important tale to tell about the racial structure of the population in Bengal. The following conclusions are indicated from the anthropometric and serological study of the jail population in the 4 district jails of the undivided Bengal.

- (1) The Northern Jail type is predominantly dolichocephalic and platyrrhine.
- (2) The Eastern Jail type is predominantly dolichocephalic and leptorrhine.

- (3) In a brachycephalic province, *viz.*, Bengal, dolichocephaly is probably traceable either to the Proto-Australoids or to the Mediterranean elements.
- (4) In Malda and Rungpore, dolichocephalic and leptorrhine people may be derived from the North Indian type represented by the tribal and semi-tribal agricultural castes and the brachycephalic element from the Mongoloid tribes from the east or from people with Mongoloid admixture.
- (5) In Mymensingh and Barisal, part of the brachycephaly is traceable to the higher caste elements in the Jail population as the *Bhadralog* classes in Barisal, (as also in Mymensingh, are known to be easily excitable people, particularly the Kayastha and Sudra elements), and partly from the Mongolian infusion in Eastern Bengal, though the contribution of each of these factors is difficult to decipher. The dolichocephalic elements in the Eastern Bengal who also possess fine nose may have been Mediterranean.
- (6) The Mediterranean element in the deltaic parts may have been reinforced by the infiltration by sea of the Portugese, Spanish and Arabian elements that at one time infested the Indian Ocean. The majority of seafaring people, sailors and laskars who man today the inland and coastal ships, come from this submerged element in the population of these parts. Their alien origin and vagrant propensities have not encouraged their assimilation in the population of these parts and they provide the turbulent and criminal elements.
- (7) The brachycephaly in Bengal appears to be a top dressing on a partly Mediterranean and partly Proto-Australoid substrata.
- (8) The criminal elements are more found among the long-headed and leptorrhine section, than among the brachycephalic section of the population which probably represent the higher castes in the Province.

The study of jail population, has been found to be interesting, and if investigations are extended to different provinces, the results may be compared, and evaluated for their social significance. We must be critical of our data, but whatever defects the sampling may have, they are there, but the conclusions indicated are not unusual.

TABLE III

TABLE 1. MEAN VALUES WITH STANDARD ERRORS BY GROUPS & CHARACTERS

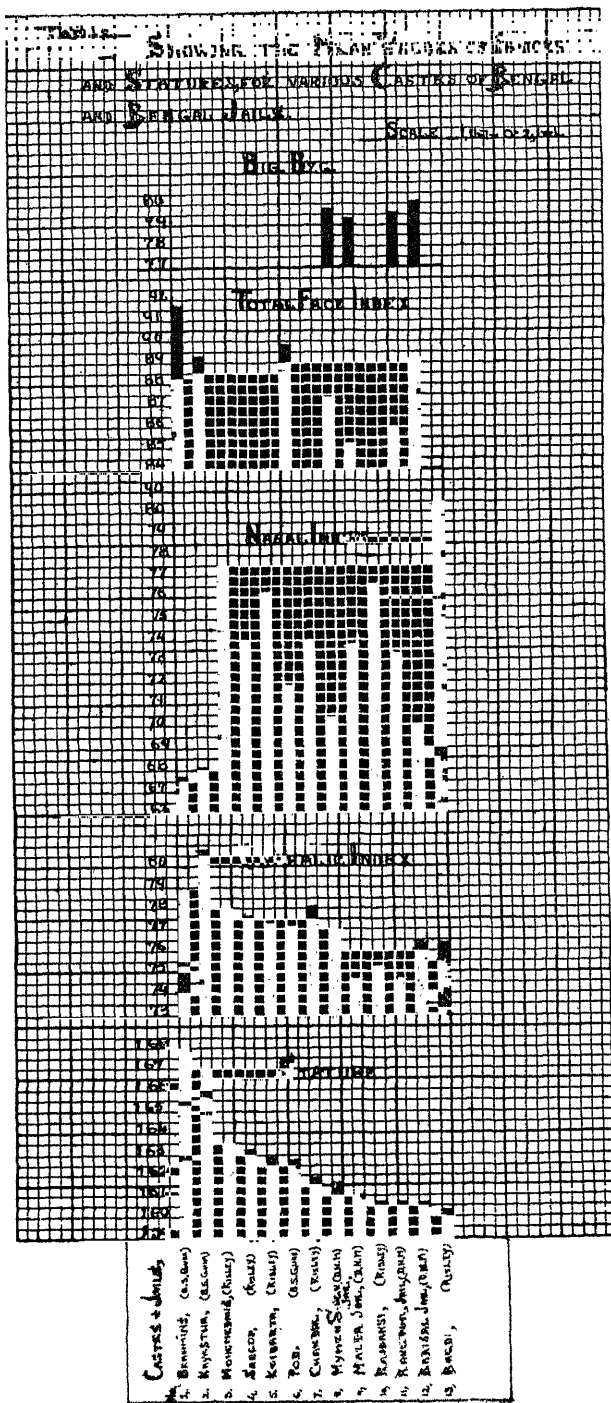
name of Jails	N	Max. Head Length	Max. Head Breadth	Min. Frontal Breadth	Max. Bizy. Breadth	Bigonial Breadth	Nasal Length	Nasal Breadth	Nasal Depth	Total Facial Length	Upper Facial Length	Orbito Nasal Length	Orbito Nasal Arc.	Auricular Height	Stature	Sitting Height
Yenningsingh	312	183.59 ±0.40	141.25 ±0.32	103.41 ±0.24	129.71 ±0.29	103.44 ±0.32	50.17 ±0.18	35.28 ±0.14	22.15 ±0.11	113.41 ±0.34	62.22 ±0.23	99.15 ±0.22	114.91 ±0.29	12.79 ±0.36	161.59 ±0.36	83.41 ±0.23
Yungpore	248	185.88 ±0.41	138.64 ±0.34	102.97 ±0.24	129.57 ±0.30	103.06 ±0.32	48.54 ±0.22	35.60 ±0.15	21.18 ±0.11	111.34 ±0.40	61.01 ±0.26	99.44 ±0.24	111.62 ±0.26	12.85 ±0.05	160.68 ±0.39	83.00 ±0.17
akla	75	185.44 ±0.71	138.28 ±0.71	103.00 ±0.62	129.30 ±0.63	102.49 ±0.72	48.12 ±0.37	35.46 ±0.25	22.10 ±0.20	110.17 ±0.75	59.89 ±0.46	100.49 ±0.46	11.78 ±0.52	12.86 ±0.08	161.02 ±0.66	82.12 ±0.43
arisaal	236	183.64 ±0.42	140.23 ±0.30	103.47 ±0.24	129.18 ±0.31	103.48 ±0.31	51.00 ±0.20	35.71 ±0.15	22.13 ±0.11	115.28 ±0.40	64.31 ±0.28	.. ..	.. ..	12.74 ±0.04	160.68 ±0.30	83.69 ±0.19

Note :—N shows the number of individual measured in the various jails

TABLE IV

STANDARD DEVIATIONS WITH STANDARD ERRORS BY GROUPS AND CHARACTERS.

		7.14 ±0.29	5.63 ±0.23	4.20 ±0.17	5.20 ±0.21	5.63 ±0.22	3.25 ±0.13	2.42 ±0.10	1.93 ±0.08	6.06 ±0.24	4.14 ±0.17	3.93 ±0.16	5.06 ±0.20	0.64 ±0.03	6.30 ±0.25	4.00 ±0.16
Yenningsingh	312															
Yungpore	248	6.48 ±0.29	5.30 ±0.24	3.81 ±0.17	4.71 ±0.21	5.08 ±0.23	3.41 ±0.15	2.33 ±0.10	1.69 ±0.07	6.34 ±0.28	4.04 ±0.18	3.72 ±0.16	4.02 ±0.18	0.75 ±0.03	6.07 ±0.27	2.67 ±0.12
akla	5	6.15 ±0.50	6.13 ±0.50	5.35 ±0.44	5.50 ±0.45	6.26 ±0.51	3.25 ±0.26	2.19 ±0.18	1.71 ±0.14	6.52 ±0.53	3.99 ±0.32	3.99 ±0.32	4.45 ±0.36	0.67 ±0.05	5.67 ±0.46	3.77 ±0.31
arisaal	236	6.45 ±0.30	4.53 ±0.21	3.65 ±0.17	4.75 ±0.22	4.81 ±0.22	3.03 ±0.14	2.31 ±0.10	1.70 ±0.08	6.20 ±0.28	4.14 ±0.20	0.66 ±0.03	4.66 ±0.21	2.59 ±0.08



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ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS

In his address as sectional President, Anthropology section, Indian Science Congress at Allahabad, January 3rd, 1949, Mr Nirmal Kumar Bose spoke about 'Methods of Dating'. The evolution to which Rekha temples were subjected was marked by the following features.

1) "Originally its *bada* was *tri-anga*. Later on, as the height of the temple was increased, in Orissa it was replaced by *panchanga bada*, and still further elaboration took place in Khajraho.

2) Probably, the *gandi* was also *triratha* in the beginning. But with increasing breadth and increasing height, the flat walls were variegated by further treatment to yield more and more *pagas*. The *bhumi-amla* was right-angled; in later times, and in some provinces, it was replaced by segments of circles. This was in accompaniment with the softening down of the lines all over the temple. But where the plain, rigid, simple character of the temple was maintained, as in the Himalayan region, the right-angled character persisted till later times.

3) The *pabhaga* consisted of three elements, of which the middle one was a *noli*. In Orissa, the *khura* was not increased very much in height, but the *noli* was replaced by a *kumbha*. Elsewhere, with increase in the height of the temple, the character of the *khura* became more and more elongated. This means that Orissan artists reshaped their mouldings in one way and those of say Rajputana or Khajraho in another, in order to accommodate themselves to the growing height of the temple itself.

4) The *kakshasana*, the double *amalaka* and the sub-basement for seating the temple were probably later local developments; for we have seen how they are also of restricted spatial distribution. Two of these features were perhaps intended to keep pace with the growth in height.

5) As the height increased, the flatness of the *pagas* became a disturbing feature. In Central India, as well as in Rajputana, this was made up by adding *sikhara* after *sikhara* which sprang from the base of the *gandi*. But Orissa followed a different device. Not that it did not add ornamental *sikharas*, but she tried to retain the flatness of the *pagas*; only she added to their number. And, in order to relieve the character of monotony, Orissan artists decorated the *page* surfaces with designs which were not in very high relief. Even in the temple of Lingaraja, where *sikharas* adorn *anuratha*, they never interfere with the smooth upward movement of the curvilinear *sikhara*. They add to its grace and by their presence keep time with the upward growth. In the temples of Rajputana, even in Khajraho, the

extravagant use of *sikharas* introduces an almost vulgar train in the movement, on account of their exaggerated separateness from the main body of the temple, *i.e.*, their independence from the prevailing plane from and on which they find their being. Khajraho tried to counteract this feeling by a corresponding accentuation of horizontal lines at the base.

These are the stray milestones that we can discover by a reliance upon the Distribution Method in the evolution of Rekha temples in different provinces of India. One important point emerges, *viz.*, that evolution has been multilinear instead of unilinear and the moral is, that a scale set up in one province loses much of its value for purposes of dating in another.

* * * * * * *

In his preface to his book on 'Scientific Terminology' issued separately, March, 1949, Mr. P. G. Shah puts forward valuable suggestions on the subject. In free India, the problem of Scientific Terminology is getting importance from all quarters of the country. Some people plead for the substitution of terms of pure Sanskrit origin while others try to postpone matters for a few years more. Any way, the necessity was felt as early as 1833 when Dr. Springer and others of the Translation Society started the work but failed to achieve it. Later on Dr. G. R. Paranjpe and C. G. Karve prepared in Marathi, 'The English-Indian Dictionary of Scientific Terminology'. The Gujarat Vidyapith prepared 'Vaijnānani Paribhasha' in 1944 and also 'Arthashastrani Paribhasha' in 1948, but the Bombay University did not give these publications due recognition but decided to have a common Scientific Terminology for the Matriculation science subjects to be worked out on the lines of Dr. Raghuvira. Such a decision seems to have been reached without detailed examination of Dr. Raghuvira's system which suffers from certain drawbacks. The language of an individual under no circumstances should be changed as linguistic freedom is a birth right of every citizen. No doubt Sanskrit is the fountainhead of culture and storehouse of knowledge, but terms of pure Sanskrit origin will be very difficult to follow for the masses and even for the students of Matriculation. The earliest efforts of Shri Sukhsampat Rai Bhandari to publish 'The 20th Century English-Hindi Dictionary' from Ajmer were of some success, but the most gigantic effort on the basis of all-India languages is that of Dr. Raghuvira. He recognises that there should be one Indian word in a language for one English word. His Vol. I, Chemistry, Part I, dealing with the elements, compounds, symbols etc., shows that he has tried to coin Sanskritised words. They are quite unsuitable for use on international basis and not even for the ordinary students. In the opinion of the writer there are two fundamental principles in carrying out such type of work. Firstly, that the new terms should not be completely cut off from the English speaking nations, and secondly,

the terms used by the public in general for the last so many years should not be changed.

The prevalence of nearly eleven languages prevented the substitution of the term of one particular language as was adopted by Dr. Raghuvira. Nobody should try to make a literal translation of the scientific terms, as they sometimes are difficult to pronounce and understand for a common man. The Government has also been trying through resolution and advisory bodies to prepare a dictionary of Scientific Terminology on the basis of the common languages of the country. They have appointed qualified and responsible men to complete this task which will help a great deal in the advancement of scientific literature in our own language.

Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the nation, and Pt. Nehru have guided the workers in this field not to be biased in any selection. The selection should be such as to maintain the existing link between India and the scientific world. Scientific contributions become the property of the world and in order to maintain the international contact, our literature in science should also be on the international basis.

The practical difficulties, in making these elementary terms quite understandable to the masses and ordinary students, have induced Mr. Shah to prepare a system of Scientific Terminology on the basis of the provincial language. He has kept in view the broad principles necessary in such systems. Simplicity should be preferred to a learned word coined afresh. Ordinary English words in use should be left untouched. He thinks that physical and chemical symbols should be written as they have been. So far as mathematical terms are available for English equivalents in our ancient literature they should be taken in. Formation of adjectives and adverbs should be on Sanskritised basis from their roots but as far as possible be made simple.

Keeping all the above requisites in view, the author has prepared the Scientific Terminology which will be of use to Gujarati speaking masses and students.

* * * * *

In a paper on Rh Frequency in the People of Lucknow, in *Hereditry*, Vol. 2, part 3, pp. 399-401, Dec., 1948, Dr. D. N. Majumdar has given the results of Rh tests carried out in cooperation with the Galton Serum Unit, at Cambridge; the dry anti-Rh testing sera were sent by Dr. G. L. Taylor and the latter's technique was followed in typing. As the anti-Rh sera could not be used against any group other than A and O, without further absorption, only A and O persons were tested. Out of 116 persons, male and female, tested in Lucknow, 5.17 were found to possess Rh-negative, the majority were Rh-positive. The author says, 'The present results agree with the general scheme of world variation in the Rh gene. We find that the Indian people stand between the low extreme in China and the high extreme in the Basque population'.

Basque Blood Group forms the subject of a note in *Nature*, Vol. 162, p. 27, July, 3, 1948, by J. N. Marshall Chalmers (of the Department of Pathology, St. George's Hospital, London, S.W.I.), Elizabeth W. Ikin and A. E. Mourant. The paper presents the results of ABO, Rh and MN tests of 167 Basques. The persons examined were selected as being of unmixed Basque descent. Out of 167, 85 were O, 67 A₁, 6 A₂, 7 B, 2 A₁B and no A₂B. 55 were M, 75 MN and 37 N. The high frequency of Rh-negative (D-negative) persons (30.5 p.c.) and of the d gene (58.8, p.c.) are in agreement with the findings of Etcheverry. The low frequency of cDE is another notable feature. The excess of Dd heterozygotes and the deficiency of MN heterozygotes are clearly due to unavoidable errors of sampling.

* * * * *

In the *Nagpur University Journal* (No 12, 1948), Dr. S. C. Dube has contributed a paper on *The Social Organization of the Kamar* supported by genealogies, terms of kinship and village census.

The Kamar family is patrilineal and patrilocal, sons generally setting up their separate households some time after their marriage. The author describes the economic cooperation, mutual inter-dependence, socio-cultural life and the educational role of this fundamental unit in the social organization of the tribe. The position of the Kamar woman is not that of the family drudge. She has considerable freedom, but in socio-religious matters her position is inferior. There are several restrictions on her rights of ownership of property, and she cannot participate in the socio-religious life of the community on a basis of equality because of the numerous disabilities imposed on her by tribal customs.

The local group is the next unit in the social structure of the Kamars. Besides normal socio-economic cooperation, a local group is supposed to keep an eye on the morals and behaviour of its members, and when it fails to report significant breaches of tribal laws to appropriate authorities, the village as a whole is punished.

The Kamar society is divided into a number of exogamous clans, which are totemic. The Kamar myth regarding the origin of these clans dates back to the great deluge after creation. Associations of individuals during and after the deluge, according to legends, were responsible for the origin of the Kamar clans. The Kamar system of kinship is of the classificatory type; slightly influenced by the descriptive system of the neighbouring castes.

The Kamars have no central authority for the tribe as a whole. Breaches of tribal law are decided by regional panchayats, the membership of which is determined by age, experience, ability and personality of the individual members of the tribe. The tribe does not officially confer or recognise rank within its fold. Possession of wealth, personality, knowledge of magic and mythology, skill in dancing and hunting etc., contribute substantially to an individual's personal distinction and prestige.

REVIEWS

COMPARISONS OF HEIGHTS AND WEIGHTS OF GERMAN CIVILIANS RECORDED IN 1946-47 AND ROYAL AIR FORCE AND OTHER BRITISH SERIES, by Dr. G. M. Morant, in *Biometrika*, Vol. XXXV, Parts III and IV, December 1948:

This is an important contribution and is sure to lead to greater interest in applied anthropometry in every country. Dr. Morant summarises his conclusions as follows:

“Record of heights and weights collected during the war show clearly that changes were taking place in the distributions of the measurements for the British population. Compared with pre-war years maximum height, indicating skeletal maturity, was normally reached at a younger age than previously. Weights for the war period tended to be above pre-war levels for ages under about 25 years and below them for ages over 25. New standards were needed which could be used to assess the significance of contemporary future changes in heights and weights.”

The result of the comparison with the data for large number of civilians in the British Zone of Germany measured for the Public Health branch of the Control Commission for Germany (British element) from December 1946 to June 1947 is recorded as below.

“Appreciable differences are found between the mean heights, recorded weights and weights standardised for height of the German children of different towns (Hamburg and Berlin) and regions (Lamder). For adults the only relation between the mean weights standardised for height which is consistent for both sexes and nearly all age groups is that the Berlin series are inferior to all others.”

The other conclusions are no less significant, for example, the maximum of the male age curve for height given by the post war survey is greater than any of the pre-war mean for regional sections of the male adult population of the British Zone of Germany. These pre-war standards were probably underestimates of the mean heights of German men.

LONELY FURROWS OF THE BORDERLAND, K. S. Pangtey, Folk Culture Series Vol. III, Universal Publishers Ltd. Lucknow (1949), pp. XI+97, Price Rs. 4/8.

This volume, the third one in the Folk Culture Series published by the Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society, U.P., contains the folk songs of the Bhotiyas living in the bleak and rugged hills and valleys of the Kumaon Himalayan region.

Folk songs are usually a source of perennial delight, their simplicity and sincerity, imagery and music enthrall us. In these days

of national reconstruction and cultural renaissance, we have to turn to the accumulated treasure of folk songs to rejuvenate our traditional culture. Moreover in this period of rapid changes in our socio-economic life there is a danger of the folk songs becoming extinct, particularly in the case of tribal people there is hardly any possibility of any addition to the already dwindling stock because of the bleaching effects of contact economics. Hence Mr. Pangtey's effort is highly commendable. He collected the representative songs and has classified them into various groups according to their seasons and significance. As an ethnographer, interested in the substance of the songs rather in their rhythm or poetic competence, he has tried to make the translation as accurate and exact as possible. The English rendering of the songs may not appeal to the lay man who wants beauty and music in the translation. The fault, if it can be so called, may be with the Bhotiyas themselves for unless a people develop emotional ties with the land they live in, the softer feelings do not take shape. But the original songs in Nagri script helps us to some extent to get over the short comings. These throw clear light on various aspects of their social and ceremonial life. They tell us how they feel about their family life, their social customs, the festivals, the religious rites and the cycle of the seasons. They reflect the delights and the difficulties of the people.

Additional attraction is provided by an introductory chapter by Dr. D. N. Majumdar, Editor of the Series, on the Social Economy of the Bhotiyas. Within a short compass of eleven pages he gives the salient details about the ethnic status and changing socio-economic structure of the Bhotiyas and offers some valuable suggestions for their rehabilitation. Dr. Majumdar thinks that a knowledge of human ecology is imperative on the part of the administration to prevent maladaptation and consequent degeneration at this period of transition in their cultural life. A concluding chapter by Mr. Naresh Chandra is cheerful reading, giving the pitfalls and the rewards of such studies and his warning to the ethnographer to be careful about the choice of the data, will be endorsed by all. The Ethnographic and Folk Culture Society must be congratulated for putting a series of valuable folk material as an earnest for fuller and richer collections.

ANIMA MUKERJEE (Miss)

1. Report on the Socio-Economic Conditions of the Aboriginal Tribes of the Province of Madras by A. Aiyappan M.A., Ph.D. Secretary, Aboriginal Tribes Welfare Enquiry Committee, *Madras Government Press*, 1948.

2. Report of the United Provinces Dudhi Enquiry Committee. (*Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, U.P., Allahabad, 1948*).

The problems facing the aboriginal population of India who number about thirty millions are being discussed on administrative level and we are glad to find that provincial governments are becoming alive to the problems of life and living of the aboriginal popu-

lation, though in different ways. The Draft Constitution proposes the renaming of the excluded and partially excluded areas as 'scheduled' areas, and recommends periodical reports to the Union Government from the Governor of the province containing these areas, and the tribal inhabitants thereof. The Union Government reserves to itself the right to exercise the executive power of directing the administration of the 'scheduled areas' and six of the provinces are each to have a Tribal Advisory Council whose duty would be to advise the Governor on all matters pertaining to the administration of these areas and the welfare of the tribal elements in the population. The tribes are to send representatives to the legislature and rules are to be framed to control alienation of land and restrict the activities of money-lenders. This is a definite step towards rehabilitation of the tribal population and we welcome the proposal in the Draft Constitution as it stands.

The Madras Report rightly emphasises the lack of interest in the tribal population, and that is due probably to the fact that 'the biggest social problem to which some amount of attention by the Government and the public has been given is that of the depressed classes, or as they are now called, the Scheduled Castes (p. 2, M.R.). This has naturally overshadowed the equally important but less publicised problem relating to the numerous tribes inhabiting the out-of-the-way jungles of the Province. Madras has an aboriginal population, of 1,120,007; the figures, however, are not compiled with sufficient accuracy, due to the difficulty of enumerating population living in the hills and fastnesses, who avoid contacts and scatter themselves in presence of alien elements, or keep away from the administrative staff. The shyness of the aboriginals in the matter of enumeration of their numerical strength, is also due to the fear that such enumeration may be harmful to those enumerated, a fear that is rooted in their attitude to the environment. The Central Provinces lead with a tribal population of 3 millions, Assam with her 2 millions and a half, occupies the next place, Orissa has 12 lakhs, and Bombay about half the tribal population of Orissa.

Dr. Aiyappan claims the tribal people as 'flesh of our own flesh', and thinks that 'a Chenchu or Konda Reddi or Koya cannot be distinguished by any bodily peculiarities from the plains of Andhra, if he were dressed in the plains fashion and spoke without his dialectical peculiarities'. 'While a very small percentage of some insignificant tribes such as the Kadars of the Annamalais show the frizzly hair, the individuals with this characteristic can be counted on one's fingers, the majority of the tribes are for racial purposes indistinguishable from the plainsmen in the adjoining regions'. (p. 30, M.R.). We have also expressed the same view with regard to the Negrito substratum, which the Government anthropologist, Dr. Guha was so keen to prove, and Mrs. Marguerite Milward was so careful to depict in her book, 'Artist in Unknown India', by choosing material for her thesis from the few specimens available here and there. Dr. Aiyappan

thinks, that the nomenclature 'Kolarian' applied to the hill tribes is absurd, for they are 'our kith and kin', 'lost and 'stigmatising'. as he says, 'in the jungles, the better for them from the scientific point of view and also for the tribes whom such a belief has done a good deal of unintended injustice'. We would not, however, go so far as Dr. Aiyappan has gone, for sentiment and science should not change places, particularly in a matter of fact report like the one we are discussing. The Australoid element is certainly the most conspicuous factor in the race elements in the Peninsular India, and the Mongoloid in Assam and even in the Cis-Himalayas capping the four northern provinces of India. There has been a lot of miscegenation in the south, the matriarchal social structure providing the necessary matrix for such hybridisation and race mixture, but even if there are two or three racial strains in the population of the provinces, or throughout the Peninsular India, there is no ground for treating the race elements differently, or stigmatising a section of the population for the width of their nose and the shape of their head. In a national population various races find the same emotional response to the land they live in and develop the same consciousness of kind that go to cement socialities, and forge a political future. It is known to all students of history, for example, that many of the present-day tribes, now living in inaccessible and remote areas, had once a powerful political organisation; they ruled over the land where they now live as *pariahs* or untouchables, and suffer from multiple inequities and enforced social incompetence; many had founded kingdoms and principalities, and their heroic days are still depicted in songs, myths and legends. The Gonds and the Koyas, the Bhils, the Savaras, the Cheros, the Mundas, the Lambadis, the Reddis, and the Kallars, to name only a few of the tribes, are on lean days, but they did hold important political status in the past, their degradation and discomforts have followed their political downfall, and their lack of opportunism, or inelasticity of their cultural life. Social justice, therefore, demands, that the tribal problems should be viewed in the light of new situation that has arisen in the country and the rehabilitation of the tribal population is one of the ways in which we can make 'amends for past neglect'. The tribes are not vocal, they have no political organisation worth the name and the Adibasi associations where they exist do not command much prestige in view of the fact that the leaders have not the support that is needed to make their demands felt. Therefore, the tribal population is our 'weakest minority', and we hope, this fact alone will not stand in the way of responding to the needs of these neglected sections of our population, even if the demands are not vocal. Dr. Aiyappan has put the problems of the aboriginal tribes on a new plane, by emphasising the homogeneity of our racial status, and even if we do not agree with him, few anthropologists will, we can surely accept his sincerity and sentiment, as earnest of 'something must be done'.

The suggestions contained in the Report may appear to be conservative, but they are sound on principle, and are likely to help rather than retard the general cultural development which is indispensable if the tribes have to acculturate rapidly to ways of life, that we want to be standardised for the bulk of our countrymen. A department of tribal welfare with a senior administrative officer as Commissioner for Tribal Welfare at its head, throwing of tribal seats to election rather than to nomination as it exists in the District Agency Boards, the gradual weaning of the tribes from *Podu* cultivation, by providing alternate occupations and means of subsistence, introduction of multiple cooperative societies and granting of credit facilities, suitable legislation stopping alienation of tribal land, rational expansion of education, tribal welfare fund, education and propaganda in favour of prohibition, but no sudden stoppage of alcoholic beverages which are needed for religious worship and against which the tribes have no social sentiment, touring medical units and propaganda for the use of medicines and insecticides. The introduction of minor cottage industries, the organisation or reorganisation of non-official social services, and anthropological studies, to aid administration and help the people materially in raising their general awareness, are all welcome suggestions. We agree with Dr. Aiyappan, that vegetarianism is no panacea for tribal ills. Wherever Hindu habits and customs regarding food have invaded tribal life, and the tribes have parted with their indigeneous menu, there has been a deterioration in the health and physique of the tribesmen. The case of the Hos, of Chota-Nagpur may be taken as a pointer in this respect. Other suggestions refer to the system of paying wages to tribal labour, the *begar* system, slavery in lieu of debt redemption are those which apply to rural India, everywhere. We only regret that the ethnographic details should lack freshness and anthropological touch which one would have expected from an anthropologist.

In contrast to the Madras Report, the one on Dudhi, is a poor show both with regard to the materials presented and the manner in which the enquiry was conducted. The chairman of the Committee, says the Report (p. 1), as he descended down the Rajkharghat spontaneously remarked that, 'we hold Switzerland in the belly of the U.P.' Either Indian Switzerland is an animal or a plant, or else the person who discovered Switzerland has no idea what that country is like. 'All articles are carried on pack horses or bullocks,' 'rainfall averages 42.23 inches per year,' 'of 607 square inches of Pargana Dudhi the forest occupies 357 square miles,' 'there is little education,' 'intermittent cultivation' 'there were 19 famines upto 1913,' 'there is no water, no fodder' with the exception of a few localities 'fever is always rife,' 'registered annual mortality is 32.31 per thousand,' 'most of the labourers working at the Nagwa Dam suffer from itch' and 'they drink water from a pond, which stink from a distance of 150 ft.,' 'there are 27 schools, 10 primary, 1 middle, 11 infant, 3 girls, 1 adults,

1 Maktab and an English school has only been started by private enterprise, for a population of 1,74,796,' 'the temperature in the hot months goes to 120°F and in the winter months, it cools down to 38°F.' This is the Switzerland of the U.P. The partially excluded areas, comprising the whole of tahsil Dudhi, the whole of Pargana Agori and 64 villages of Pargana Bijaigarh, with an area of 1926 sq. miles contain some of the most backward people in the Province. Their poverty is proverbial and even in these days, 'substantial number of them have to depend on *mohwa* for their evening meal everyday.' 'About 80 to 90 p.c. of the population suffer from venereal diseases.'

It is a pity that in a Report dealing with the tribal country, only two pages are devoted to the aborigines, and statements regarding the tribal population, their tribal structure, beliefs and practices, sorcery, divination, witchcraft, raciolog, economic life, religion, problems of contacts with civilisation, drink and habits pertaining to it, all have been condensed in a few sentences. We learn that 'primitive tribes', in this area, 'consider themselves Hindus', 'none of these tribes have any rigid tribal organization,' 'the Kols who form the greater part of the aborigines in this tract, have no totemistic septs now, but have under the influence of Hinduism, adopted division into 7 endogamous *gotras*.' There is no mention of the Korwas who are the most primitive tribe in this part and who are slowly preparing themselves for an exit, but of the most advanced and Hinduised Manjhis, the report adds, 'They are however free from the influence of Brahmanism and follow their own rituals involving exorcism of ghosts which is conducted by the Baiga the more peaceful aspects of domestic ritual being in the hands of Patari.' The Biyars are called Bayars. The Gonds, according to the Report, 'do not possess the same characteristics as those of their class in the Central Provinces.' 'Though the various tribes have their own respective godlings,' runs the Report (p. 87) 'they stand on a common basis in their veneration for the Deohar, which is a sort of temple containing a chain at the end of which there is attached a strap used for the expulsion of evil spirits.' We are assured that 'none of the tribes have any customs or religious beliefs which may come into conflict with the laws followed elsewhere in the Province.' Again, 'It would appear from the above that the aborigines who inhabit this partially excluded area are not at such a low level of culture as to necessitate special treatments.' (p. 89). A very interesting example how to rehabilitate the tribal people, is given in the following news doled out in the Report. "Ignorance leads to residents to believe in exorcising evil spirits. In quite a large number of cases, a worker will not work as a ploughman if he thinks, that a spell has been cast against the employer." A tenant applied to the tahsildar a few years back that 'his ploughman was not willing to work'. The tahsildar with all due formalities of law, summoned the ploughman and enquired the reason for his refusal.

Tahsildar, 'Why do you not work for the tenant?' Ploughman,

'Any one who works for the tenant dies within a year.' Tahsildar, 'Are you willing to work if you did not die within a year'. Ploughman, 'Yes, Sir, I have no objection'. Tahsildar, Peshkar, please prepare a *hukumnama* saying that, the ploughman is not to die within a year.'

So the problem of the aborigines was solved by the resourceful tahsildar and the aborigines therefore 'do not need any special treatment.' This beats even the remedy suggested recently in the Penal Reformer, the Journal of the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, U.P., where it is mentioned in an editorial note, that a particular officer of the Discharged Prisoners Aid Society, gave a lecture to the convicts in a jail; the latter were so deeply moved by the lecture that they wept and promised that never in the future they would take to crime. There will be no criminals in the U.P. jails henceforward, if the story is correct. "Partially, excluded area" says the Report (p. 10) is "the black mark of British administration which did not succeed in doing much for the amelioration of the condition of the aborigines who inhabited this tract. Their main occupation was supposed to be that of 'beaters' to provide easy hunting for those who carried the 'whiteman's burden'. With the advent of the congress Government, within one year the United Provinces Government appointed a Committee on May 17, 1947, to look into the affairs of the Dudhi Government Estate" (p. 10).

One concrete suggestion is that the debts the aborigines owe to the mahajan or sowcars, should be forthwith wiped off. But mere legislation is not enough, for there are many debtors in Dudhi, whose legal obligation to pay, has been cancelled by the verdict of competent courts, but even today they are serving the moneylenders or depositing their produce at the house of their creditors in recognition of their obligation which they are not prepared to repudiate, whatever the legal status of the transaction may be. Even the sun and the moon, the aborigines will tell you, cannot escape creditors, and for the fact that they borrowed money from the Dom, every year the Dom pursues the heavenly bodies and that is how eclipses occur. The problem of aboriginal indebtedness is not merely economic but cultural as well, and it is pity that the Committee did not have the assistance of a competent anthropologist, as the Madras Committee did have. Planning is the job of experts and it is pity that only the legislators are considered competent for such jobs. The Report does not add much to our knowledge which is already available in the District Gazetter and the Settlement Reports but all the same does focus attention to the many problems of Dudhi and adjacent areas. We would have been happy if the economic possibilities of the Dudhi Estate were linked up with the welfare of the aboriginal population of the area, for the Rihand dam when constructed will affect the aborigines more than other people, and the *malaise* of tribal culture is too tragic to specify. The Report is richly documented with useless and irrelevant maps the publication of which was probably meant to make it appear formidable.

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CHANGES IN SANTAL ECONOMY

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY

WHEN a Santal village became overpopulated, in the old days, a site was selected for a new settlement and a group of families set out to clear new land from the forest there. The traditions state clearly that each family was allotted one share or plough of land i.e. what one yoke could cultivate. The Manjhi or head of the village who was also the priest, his deputy and the other office bearers were allowed to enjoy a part of the land rent free. For the entire village land, a lump payment was usually settled with the Zemindar, and it was equally distributed on all the families, barring the exemptions noted. Still earlier, when the Santals had men of their own race as overlords, each clan according to traditions which still linger had a separate area and domain allotted to it. The organisation in such case was probably like that reported as surviving in a few isolated areas by Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy among Mundas early in this century. The traditions definitely refer to different areas and fortresses which were the capitals of each clan, and also to wars between such clan-states.

The Mundas we know from Roy, had a tradition of reallotting land at certain intervals to remove inequalities of holdings between families which had grown large in numbers and families which had died down to a few members. Even in 1877, Kolean guru of the Santals noted that Santals annually gave up land to the head man at the Magh Sim festival and again got these back after a few days. It had become symbolic even in Kolean's time and the custom is now extinct. Only the former tradition of such a custom is remembered. The office bearers were also all re-elected at this time. At present they continue in office; but if any one desires to resign or is to be removed from office, it should be done at this time. It should be clear from these traditions that the Santal families in the old days shared in the village

land on an equal basis and that if a family decayed, their land did not lie fallow.

This custom regarding fallow land is even now the rule in another tribe of the same major family of speech—the Khasis.

In the case of Mundas, Roy has noted that when persons other than families of the founders came to settle in their villages, the headman charged them rent on area basis, and not on the basis of general distribution of the total village rent. This principle was partly accepted by the British administrators of Santal areas but modified in some respects. The rent, in the earlier Government Revenue Settlements was fixed for the village and distributed according to land held by the different families. If any land was cleared between this and a subsequent Settlement, then the headman charged rent from the newcomer at a reduced rate and took it himself like a Zemindar. This was an innovation of British rulers. Strictly speaking the old Munda headman and the Santal Manjhi should have reduced the rent on all the villagers when new men came and cleared more land. For the traditional rule was for each family to take of the common village land according to necessity and capacity and in return to bear a proportionate burden of the rent to be paid. Even in the old days however, as soon as newcomers were admitted who were not given the full rights of old villagers (the Khuntkatti tenure men) a departure was made in the economic system. In return for the labour these newcomers put on land, they got the harvest all right but they were not admitted to the communal rights. Original village community used this extra rent to reduce their own payments to the overlord. Sometimes their village headman utilised this money to make his own holding rent free. He could not, however, take the whole of it as later on the British Settlement officers authorised him to do.

Among Mundas, Roy has noted that the Zemindars gradually usurped the right of even the old villagers who were descendants of founders to clear new land from their village waste or reserve of forest. The landlords settled new tenants on the waste and charged them rent directly. Obviously, if the village headman or founders could charge rent on new settlers, surely the Zemindar, so the latter argued, could do the same. The unity of the village community began to be broken up when the Munda or Santal headman himself charged rent as apart from proportionate share of total tax from the newcomers. The Zemindar merely extended the principle one step further. The British administrators of Manbhum and Santal Parganas went even further. In

these areas originally there had been Khuntkatti tenures as described above. The Settlement Officers completely obliterated the system and assumed the right to settle taxes on all land cleared and cultivated at intervals of a certain number of years. The earlier practice survived in the rights of the headman as noted before. It, however, gave the headman a special position comparable to a landlord.

In consequence of these changes, and also on account of the migration of Santals to areas where reserves of forest land for cultivation are lacking, the type of land distribution among Santals has changed a good deal. This is illustrated by the following details which were collected on the basis of a random sample survey.

In Mayurbhanj, where there is still some reserve of forest land, the Santals are still mainly agriculturists proper. By this term is meant, persons living almost entirely by cultivation of owned land. Where the family has to make its livelihood by working on own and also in part on other's land the designation "Agriculture and Labour" is applied to the occupation. Where work on other's land is the main source of livelihood, the term used is "Agricultural Labour". In the Muruda Pargana and adjacent areas in Mayurbhanj we have out of a total of 220 families with 1090 members, the following distribution by occupation.

Agriculture	Agriculture and Labour	Agricultural Labour
166	9	45

The total area cultivated is 1130 acres, i.e. an average of 5.1 acres. Only half of it is, however, wet-land. The rest is up-land which is much less productive. This is small compared to the Santal Parganas, where the average holding was 10 acres in the Damin Reservation and 7 acres in Zemindari tracts, in 1907, and 6.66 acres in the Damin area as late as 1935. In the Zemindari tracts however it has fallen to 4.9 acres. For fairly good land, a holding of 5 acres furnishes the necessities of life plus a little of comfort for a family of 5 to 6 individuals which is the average size for these areas. For mixed-up land and wet-land holdings, the area needed is about 8 acres. Clearly even in the Santal Parganas, except the Reservation known as Damin-i-Koh, the Santals are now below the comfort level.

This is also the case in Mayurbhanj. The position is worse in those districts of Bengal where the Santals live in large numbers. The average holding of owned land varies from 0.5 acres in Midnapur Sadar to 3.7 acres in Bankura Sadar.

The actual condition of the Santals as land owners is made even more clear by the distribution by acreage. For Mayurbhanj, we get the following figures :

Acreage	0-2	2 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 30	30 to 100	Total
No of Families	62	89	47	21	1	220
Per cent	28.2	40.4	21.4	9.6	0.4	100

It is evident from this distribution that nearly 60 per cent of the Santals in Mayurbhanj are not owners of economic holdings and live at a level below comfort and that providing the bare necessities of life.

The distribution of land among Santals in Bengal is noted below :

Subdivision	No of families	Average acreage	Percentage holding in acres				
			0-2	2 to 5	5 to 10	10 to 30	30 to 100
Midnapur Sadar	105	0.5	96.2	1.9	0.95	0.95	—
Birbhum	114	0.8	85.97	13.16	0.87	Nil	—
Jhargram	145	2.7	49.7	35.9	11.7	2.7	—
Bankura	319	3.7	23.8	54.9	16.9	4.1	0.6
Maldah	138	2.3	60.9	27.5	9.4	2.2	—
Balughat	151	2.0	60.2	19.5	19.5	0.8	—

In Jhargram the survey was confined to Binpore and Sandar police stations. If simple villages in outlying areas closer to forest land had been surveyed, it is probable that the distribution would have been closer to that of Bankura.

It is clear that in the three areas, Mayurbhanj, Bankura and Jhargram where there is still some reserve of forest to be cleared or where it has been recently exhausted, the distribution shows less inequality than in the two subdivisions where reserves are practically non-existent e. g. Birbhum Sadar and Midnapur Sadar.

For Santals in all areas, however, it is clear that the distribution of land owned shows a distribution comparable to that of income among advanced people. It shows that the change in economic condition has been in the same direction as in modern society. As noted before the change started when the Santal and Munda headmen decided that by reason of their having founded the village, those who were not descendants of the original families could cultivate land only by paying rent. Evidently, such an eventuality could not arise in very old times,

when there was plenty of uncleared forest land for every one. If another group of Santal families, found their own village overpopulated, they could move off and start a new hamlet or a new village. It was only when suitable sites became scarce that they would go perforce to a village founded by others, but with enough reserves, for other folk to come and settle. When this happened, the founder families would take the stand of the landlord to whom they were making a payment as rent, which was distributed over the different households. Presumably, when there was no superior landlord, no rent was paid by the householders. We may come to this conclusion from the conditions prevalent among Khasis, and also some earlier reports regarding Santals themselves. We may therefore say that in contact with outsiders of advanced culture, who charged rent for the permission to cultivate the land claimed to be within the territory of such outside persons, the Santals came in contact with this new trait of culture. So long as the old pattern of culture with regard to clearing forest land continued i. e. Santal families entered into a contract with some outsider who claimed to be the Zemin-der, the culture trait was not adopted and operated. There was no occasion for it. When, however, a new factor, scarcity of cultivable forest land came into existence, and other Santals came to ask permission of the old settlers to cultivate their waste land, the culture trait was adopted as that corresponded to the new circumstances which had arisen. A community based on equal economic rights was thus set on the road to inequality and differentiation into economic classes.

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF THE PRIMITIVE TRIBES IN SOUTH INDIA

L. A. KRISHNA IYER

THERE are three main motives which enter into the complex of dress, modesty, protection, and improving one's appearance. In addition to it, it makes one's status in that community. Primitive man was in a state of nudity, but in the course of progressive evolution, he became subject to a sense of shame which was not natural in him. This sense of shame is a by-product of modern civilization and became more and more a simple manifestation of the male. Clothing must have originated in a decorative impulse. The first and foremost was to cover exposure. As typical of the level which has been referred to as the fig-leaf state of society, there are some tribes in South India in whom the barks of trees form their clothing, and rocks, caves, and hollows of trees, their homes.

The Koragas of South Canara wore "an apron of twigs and leaves over the buttocks. Once this was the only covering allowed them, and a mark of their deep degradation. But now when no longer compulsory, and of no use as it is worn over the clothes, the women still retain it, believing its disuse would be unlucky". The Vettuvans of Malabar wore clusters of long leaves suspended from the waist. The Thantapulaya women of Travancore formerly wore a *thanta* garment which covered their front and back. It was made of the leaves of a sedge cut into lengths, and tied round the waist in such a fashion that the unwoven strings hang in a bushy tail behind, and present the same appearance in front reaching below the knees. Mrs. Evans found the Malavetans of Travancore "wearing dresses of leaves." The Kanikkar call them 'Telvetans' which is reminiscent of the leafy garment that they wore in former times. The Kanikkar themselves were as nature made them, nude with only a semblance of cloth. Mateer says, 'men almost go naked having only a few inches of cloth round their loins and a small cloth on the head.'

The Irulans, Malayans, and Vedans were, according to Mackenzie, living in a state of nature, though they have now taken to wearing some kind of coverings, males putting on skins, and females stitched leaves.

In ancient times, the Chenchus of Hyderabad clad themselves in leaves. Today, the every day dress of the Chenchu man consists of a waist string made of twisted fibre and a small piece of cotton cloth which is passed between the legs in such a way that it holds the vital parts in a bag the ends falling loosely over the waist string like a small apron in front. Women have adopted the dress of the neighbouring peasantry.

Owing to frequent contact with the people of the plains and the influence of the missionaries, a change has come about in dress. Protection against weather is a real motive for the use of the clothing. It has been suggested that all clothing developed from ornament. This does not seem plausible. On account of the limitation of clothing among the most scantily clad tribes to the region of the sexual organs, it has been claimed that the origin of clothing is due to peculiar inborn modesty, to the aversion to expose the organs of the sex. As clothing becomes more complete each sex tends more and more to judge the other by the appearance of the face rather than the body.

DECORATION, MUTILATION AND DEFORMATION

Decoration is extremely old, for sites estimated to date back more than 15,000 years contain necklaces of teeth and perforated shell. Among modern tribes, it is important whether they are scantily clad or wholly nude. What strikes us most is that in order to live up to the ideals of beauty, human beings in all ages and on all levels have been willing to undergo the most extraordinary trouble.

Mutilations and deformations are intended to serve the purpose of ornament. Among the Malavetans of Travancore is found the interesting custom of chipping the incisor teeth in the form of serrated cones. On being asked whether they have any tradition about the custom of tooth-filing, they replied that "it is to distinguish our caste. Our god *bhathan* will be angry if we neglect the custom". The operation is done by men for men and women for women. Before chipping, the outer edges of the teeth are smeared with *chunam*. It is supposed to make chipping easier. The

chipping is done with a small knife. The girl to be operated on rests on the lap of a woman who holds her firmly. A third woman takes a small knife and chips away the teeth. This custom is found among the Kadars of the Cochin State, the Malays, and among several tribes in Africa.

TATTOOING

Tattooing is most widespread all over the world among the savage and civilized people in prehistoric and historic times. It was the ambition of youngmen to have tattooed faces to attract the fair sex and to appear conspicuous in war. The art of tattooing is practised in every part of India. Marco Polo says that even in his days people used to come from Upper India to Zayton to be tattooed. Tattooing is a mark of dignity among the Abors of Assam, and no youth is allowed to marry without the mark. The Burmese kings used to apply the art to incorrigible offenders who were tattooed with a circle on their cheeks or the title to their offence was inscribed on their chests. According to Hindu traditions, Vishnu is said to have tattooed the hand of Lakshmi with the figure of his weapons and with that of the sun, the moon and the *tulsi* plant as a protection for her during his war with demons.

The Kanikkar tattoo to enhance personal beauty. The operation is a woman's job. It is done single-handed.

With males, tattooing takes the form of a circle, while it is half-moon among women. Lamp-black or charcoal powder of cocoanut shell is mixed with the breast milk of a woman. She pricks the skin on the forehead with needles, and it is painted over the pricked part every alternate day for early healing. Tattooing is found among the Kadars and Malsirs of the Cochin state, and the Todas of the Nilgiri. Tattooing may indicate social position, sex and tribe.

The women dilate ear-lobes among the Uralis, the Mannan, Vettuvans, Vishavans and others. Ear-tubes of reeds or brass are worn. Strings of beads adorn the neck of women. Maori women had tattoo on the lips and the chin.

Painting is a peculiar form of temporary adornment among primitive tribes, the survivals of which may be seen among the higher castes. The red colour is chosen by the people to paint themselves with. During the village festivals of Kerala, the Parayas and the Pulayas paint their faces in various colours and dress themselves in fantastic costumes to dance before the deity. Young women and grown up girls of the higher castes on cere-

monial and other occasions paint their faces red either with vermillion or with turmeric dipped in castor oil. They also paint their palms, fingers, even nails, as also the legs and feet red with a coating of the paste made of *benna* leaves. The custom of painting and adorning the body existed in prehistoric times. Ludwig Stein remarks that the history of cosmetics dated from the days of Biblical antiquity and could be traced back to the man of the Ice Age.

FOOD QUEST

Food is the urgent and recurrent need of man. It indicates his activities in relation to land at every stage of economic development, fixes the locality for residence, and determines the extent from which maintenance may be drawn and the duration of residence depends on the food supply. The South Indian hills have still ever green forests yielding abundance of fruits and tubers and streamlets stocked with fish. There are animals for game. The Malapantarams are a small tribe in the hunting stage of culture. They are found in high forests where the average rainfall is about 188 inches per annum. Owing to luxuriance of vegetation they are within the tyranny of the jungle. They live in families of two or three in a locality. The smaller the number, the easier is the food obtained. They remain for a week in a locality and then move on to another when the food supply is exhausted.

Each pack has its own jurisdiction for its wandering and food supply. They live on the pith of *Arenga wightii*, *Caryota urens*, and *Curcuma augustifolia*. The Pambu Pulayas of Anjanad live on snakes such as python, which they kill dexterously. The Kadars live on various edible roots and tubers. The Kharias, the Birhors of Hazaribagh, and the Irulas of the Nilgiris wander through the jungles and subsist on yams, honey and tubers of various kinds. Slender are the ties which bind them to agriculture.

The Kanikkars, the Malayarayans, the Uralis, the Paliyans, the Muthuvans and the Vishavans are nomadic agriculturists owing to diminution of edible roots and game. They have a clear conception of tribal lands. Agriculture is adopted as an adjunct to the chase. It enables them to live in one place and accumulate the necessaries of life. The tribes on lower elevations have rice as their staple food, while those on higher elevations live on rice and *rugi*. All of them eat the flesh of *sambhar*, jungle squirrel.

rel, wild fowl and black monkeys. They also eat crabs, rats and fish.

The Uralis do not drink cow products. The Ullatans do not drink buffalo milk. The Muthuvans, the Mannans, and the Kanikkar have taken to coffee, while tea has become an article of beverage to the Uralis. Living as the Uralis, the Mannans, and the Muthuvans do on high elevation, they are fond of *arrack*.

PRODUCTION OF FIRE

No single feature of material life so definitely lifted man above the animal plane as the use of fire. Food became edible by cooking and men could not have settled in colder zones of the globe without warming. When after a tired march he cares more for fire, not only for comfort, but for survival. Like the Andamanese, the Malapantarams were ignorant of the art of making fire. Tradition has it that it was the sage Narada who taught them how to make fire by means of a hand-drill. Sticks of Unnam (*Growia tilinofolia*) and *Ixora coryfolia* are used. A slot half an inch deep is made in the centre of the stick. A man keeps it in position under his big toe, takes a round stick of hard wood, 18 inches long, holds it in a vertical position, keeping one end of it in the slot, and turning it quickly backwards and forwards with both the hands. A portion of the wood dust produced in the process remains in the slot and the heat generated by friction ignites it. This process was in vogue among the Malavetans and Ullatans.

Some Asiatics learnt to strike fire, obviously a more effective method than either drilling, sawing or ploughing, though ceremonially retained the drill until fairly late times. The strike-a-light was the method of our great-grandfather. Primitive men always took pains to keep one going, when it was once kindled. The Kanikkar made fire by the flint and steel method. Pieces of flint and steel and some floss of *Caryota urens* are the materials required. The floss is held near the flint and the latter is struck with the steel. The friction produces sparks of fire which ignites the floss. This method is resorted to in cold weather. The strike-a-light method is in vogue among the Muthuvans, the Mannans, the Malayarayans, and the Vishavans of Travancore. It is known among the Kadars of Cochin and the Badagas and Irulas of the Nilgiris.

The sawing method is employed by such people as the Paniyans and Vizagapatam hill-men who take a piece of dry bamboo split lengthways and make a notch in the convex side. A knife

edge is cut on a piece of tamarind wood, shaped to fit the notch. A piece of cloth is laid beneath the notched bamboo across which in the notch the tamarind wood is drawn violently till dust falls on the cloth below, till smoke and finally flame appears in the cloth.

HABITATIONS

Natural shelters, caverns, overhanging rocks, holes in the ground, and hollow trunks may have been the abode of primitive man. When climate grew colder, he sought refuge in caves, as evidenced by the remains of fire places, stone tools, and cracked bones of game animals. They are still used by the Veddahs of Ceylon, a simple hunting tribe. The Malapantarams of Travancore make the simplest dwellings. They live together in rock-shelters or breakwinds made of jungle wood and thatched with plantain leaves which accommodate two persons. The hut is circular and conical, and the floor is on a level with the ground and has hardly room for a husband, wife and child. Boys and girls are housed for the night in separate sheds close to the parental roof. The Chenchus live in caves, and the Birhors put up sheds in the shape of *kumbas* or raw shelters. A hunter cannot have a fixed abode because he must follow the game.

The Kanikkar have a better type of dwelling. The huts are wide apart in some places. Bamboo forms the chief building material. Tree-houses are found where elephants roam about. According to Lord Avebury, many savage tribes live in lake dwellings and the Garos of Assam and the Kanikkar of Travancore are reckoned by him to live in dwellings 8 to 10 feet from the ground, the object being protection from man and wild animals. One feature of the domestic architecture of the lower culture is the institution of bachelor hall where the young men of the community sleep and live. It is an important means of preserving social life. Unmarried girls remain in a hut vacated for them. This practice is seen among the Muthuvans and the Mannas.

The Muthuvans, the Mannan, and the Paliyan huts are found together in a group, as they live on high elevations, where the idea of defence is the first motive in the grouping of huts into villages. They are built in inaccessible places like tops of hills. Each village has common place of worship, a *chavadi* for visitors, and separate dormitories for boys and girls. The Urali huts are isolated. Each man has a tree house which is above 50 feet above ground. They spent their nights in it for fear of

elephants. Each hamlet has a common tree-house reserved for menses. There is a common tree-house as granary, The huts of the Malayarayan, Ullatan, and the Malapulaya are of an improved type.

FURNITURE AND UTENSILS

The tribes live in the region of the bamboo and the reed. These materials are used for a variety of purposes. There is a family likeness among all articles used by tropical peoples and this is accounted for by uniformity in climate and environment. The domestic vessels consist of a few bamboo tubes whose internodes provide them with the necessary bottom, a few cane baskets for keeping grain, and brass vessels among the Malayarayans, the Muthuvans, and the Uralis.

WEAPONS AND TOOLS

The prime necessity of primitive men was food, and he was a gatherer, then a hunter. This necessitated the use of some weapons. The digging stick is used by the Malapantaram, and Malavetan, the Vishavan, and others to collect wild roots and tubers. It is made of hardwood and provided with a sharp point. The Kanikkar who have been using the wooden hoe for racking up the soil have taken to use of the axe, bill-hook and spade. The spade may be considered as having developed from the digging spud.

BOW

In Travancore, the bow is still used by the Kanikkar, the Muthuvan, the Urali, the Ullatan, and others to kill animals which do damage to their crops. The bow is made of a single stave of Nara (*Polyalthia fragrans*) or bamboo. The string is made of fibre of the adventitious roots of *Ficus* and is tied to notches at the end of the stave. The arrow is made of reed. To steady flights three rows of fowl's feathers are stuck into it with gum. They say that their ancestors were a stronger people and that they used to kill bigger animals. They have grown weak, since they took to the use of the gun. The Kanikkar also use the pellet-bow. They use pellets of stone which are flung with great force. The stave is made of bamboo. It is used for killing small game and for driving away monkey.

BOW TUBE

The Muthuvans and the Vishavans of Travancore kill birds

by means of the blow-tube. It is made of reed and is 50 inches long with a diameter of a quarter of an inch. The dart is 5 inches long pointed at one end and winged at the other. It is found among the Muthuvans of the Palni hills and the Malays. Dr. Hutton thinks that there is no possibility at all of these blow-guns having come from the Malay Peninsula, though Mr. Foulkes said that he had seen on the Madras coast, blow-guns which are admittedly imported from the Malay Peninsula. Dr. Hutton thinks that the presence of the blow-gun may possibly be credited to the proto-Australoid. One thing is certain, it occurs wherever larger reeds occur.

The Vishavans use the Muppali or three-pronged iron for spearing fish. The modern hill tribes are aware of the use of iron.

THE BHATUS—A CRIMINAL TRIBE OF THE UNITED PROVINCES.

Laxmi Nath Wahi

It is usually believed today that the world has outgrown the stage of tribal life. The present civilised life does not admit of tribal conceptions, taboos and blind observances. Yet there are in India regular tribes, constituting habitual criminals sufficiently organised, living in the midst of a rapidly progressing population. In the United Provinces, the Bauriyas, the Sansiyas, the Haburas, the Doms, the Kanjars, the Pasis, the Satias, the Karwals and the Nats have been declared as criminal tribes by the Govt. under the Criminal Tribes Act(III) of 1911, for their traditional practices of theft, loot and plunder. Almost all of these tribes are either living in Settlements run by Govt. or approved and aided agencies such as the Salvation Army, the Arya Samaj or in villages under strict police surveillance. The Bhatus, brethren of Sultana Bhatu, the notorious gangster, could not be allowed to live free. Almost all of them are to-day registered and confined in Settlements.

Blood group investigations indicate that the criminal tribes in India have a large preponderance of 'B' blood and as such they differ from the other elements in the population.

The traditions concerning the racial origin of the Bhatus are many. These legends trace the origin of the Bhatus to the Rajputs, who after the defeat of Rana Pratap Singh became homeless wanderers with no other means of subsistence except regular looting. The tribal people hold that the tribe is known as Bhatu only because its members are experts in using different tricks and weapons while plundering and telling different 'Bhanti' tales whenever questioned about their feats and deeds. Bhatus do excel members of other tribes in using double names, signalling to each other by producing peculiar vocal sounds and as keen observers and fast runners.

There is not much difference between an Indian peasant and a Bhatu in villages; so it is difficult for a layman to establish that the Bhatus belong to a different stock.

In spite of the similarities which are noticeable amongst the Bhatus and other criminal tribes of U.P. there are some marked differences amongst them.

Dr. D.N. Majumdar has made a thorough study of the physical characteristics and racial history of the U.P. tribes. According to him, Bhatus are mainly dolichocephalic, the cephalic index of the Bhatus being 74.83 while that of the Haburas is 73.71. The Bhatus are also taller than the Haburas. The fair complexioned Bhatus with fine aquiline nose can easily be distinguished in a crowd of Doms who according to Dr. Caldwell are the surviving representatives of an older, ruder and darker race who preceded the Dravidians in India. The Bhatus are high vaulted. The high cheek bones, lips of medium thickness pointed chin and an oval face are also noticeable among the Bhatu women. The girls are generally attractive with intelligent looks.*

About 95% of the Bhatus are living in the Salvation Army Settlement, Moradabad, Aryanagar Settlement, Lucknow, and Kalyanpur Settlement of Kanpur and the Settlement at Kanth, Moradabad. These Settlements are either administered or controlled by the Govt. The discipline is very strict. Even the slightest breach of discipline may be punished by confinement to the Settlement prison room sometimes up to 72 hrs. at a stretch. For a serious offence the member may be handed over to the local police. A Bhatu may leave the Settlement Area with a pass in order to pursue day time jobs and to make purchases in the nearby towns.

Occupation is provided by the Settlement authorities to a small number of settlers. They have opened industrial departments, like the handloom industry. Land is given on nominal rent to those who wish to cultivate. Free and compulsory education is imparted to the boys and girls in the Settlement schools.

The Bhatus are governed by their tribal laws and customs in their social, economic, religious, and even criminal activities. Their nomadic life and criminal profession necessitated the formation of a council of elders from the experienced men of the tribe, to maintain strict discipline while on their criminal expeditions and in their tribal life and to punish the transgressor and defaulter.

The Bhatus as an endogamous tribe, are divided into fifteen *gotras*, viz. Jisan, Dhapan, Dholiya, Banswaley, Meeney, Gaddo, Kodan, Timachiyon, Chari, Ghighia, Popat, Koriya, Ghaley, Sadhey and Chireilly. It goes without saying that the genesis of these different *gotras* can be traced to some fifteen leading figurers

* The Fortunes of Primitive Tribes, Vol I, (Lucknow, 1944) pp. 185-208

of the Bhatu tribe though it cannot be said with precision whether these fifteen figures were contemporaries. The main social function which a *gotra* has to fulfil is to save members, from the effects of incest. In religious ceremonies or during the time of propitiation of deities only the members of a *gotra* take part to the exclusion of the members of other *gotras*.

Among the Bhatu, marriage is more of a contractual nature than sacramental. A girl is treated as a commodity in the free market where she can be possessed by the highest bidder with the reservation that the bidder must belong to the Bhatu tribe, must be of a different *gotra* and the bid must be within limit of a maximum amount of money fixed by the *panchayat*. They practise two types of marriage i.e. marriage by purchase and marriage by exchange. In the former type of marriage 'Mooth' (bride-price) is the main item of expenditure. The bride-price may be lowered for any of the following defects:—

Defect.	Amount deducted from the bride-price.
Lameness	Rs. 140 -
Squint.	Rs. 140 -
Broken tooth.	Rs. 30 - per tooth
Unchastity.	Rs. 60 -

Marriage by exchange is very economical. There is no question of bride-price and the alliance is arranged between the brother and a sister of one family with the sister and brother of another family. The marriage is characterised by three main ceremonies viz. *Mangni Khatmi*, *Shadi* and the *Piyale-Chel*.

Fidelity if broken does not bring punishment to either husband or wife. Indeed often the wife has to act as a decoy and even get involved in irregular intimacies with other people in order to elicit information which is helpful to her husband when the latter goes out on thieving expeditions. But when a Bhatu man or woman commits adultery within the tribe, the *panchayat* punishes the offender by imposing heavy fines. Sometimes the head and eyebrows of a man and woman who have committed adultery are shaven off and the hair is hung on a staff in the centre of the village or Settlement as warning to others.

Bhatu of all *gotras*, except that of Dholiya, cremate their dead. They place a pice in the mouth of the dead body for maintainig him in the afterworld. If a pregnant woman dies her womb is cut open to take out the dead child and then she is burnt while the child is buried.

The *panchayat* system, among the tribe existed from its nomadic days, and even to-day when the Bhatu are living in

Settlements or in villages the authority of the *panchayat* is never challenged. In the event of the inability of the *panchayat* to prove a charge definitely, it is usual to make the suspect take an oath or *Kasam*. The following *Kasam* is an important one, which is practised by the tribe in cases of theft within the tribe.

Every member of the tribe is asked to dip his or her finger in a vessel containing a mixture of the blood of a cock, some wine and salt. Then everybody swears "If I have done this I shall also meet the fate of the cock."

Incest is considered as *pap* by the tribal people. The offenders are severely penalised by being heavily fined. The fines imposed for committing incest in the following cases are given below:—

Adultery with elder brother's wife	Rs. 60/-
Adultery with wife's younger or elder sister.	Rs. 80/-
Adultery with wife's married sister	Rs. 150/-
Adultery within the <i>gotra</i> .	Rs. 80/-
Adultery outside the <i>gotra</i>	Rs. 60/-
Adultery with maternal or paternal aunt.	Rs. 400/-
Adultery with the same girl for the second time.	Rs. 40/-

Though most of their religious customs, practices and rituals such as offering of wine and pigs to their gods and goddesses and ancestor worship, absence of a Brahmin in all religious and ceremonial occasions etc; have developed along their own lines, yet anybody who has seen them reading Ramayan or the Bhagvat Geeta and celebrating Hindu festivals, like Dashera, Diwali and Holi, will certainly conclude that the Bhatus are Hindus.

The Bhatus are the faithful worshippers of the *Devies* of the following places: Bhumia of Kheri, Hinglaj, Karauli, Karaula, Dhola-garh, Gurgaon, Nagarkot, and Jharpir. Apart from these *Devies* they have great faith in Kali, Lalta, their ancestors, Syed, Sat Devta. They also offer *arghya* (water) to *pipal*, *tulsi* and the sun.

Omens play a very important part in the individual and social life of the Bhatus. When they start on criminal expeditions they are very particular about the following omens:—

OMENS.

Belief connected with it.

1. Acorpse met on the right side.	Failure.
2. " " " left "	Success.
3. Seeing of an empty pitcher.	Failure.
4. Cry of a female jackal.	Failure.
5. The lowing of a cow.	Failure.
6. Snake crossing the path ahead or to the right.	Failure.
7. Snake seen behind.	Success.

OMENS

Belief connected with it.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| 8. A dog wagging its ears. | Failure. |
| 9. If the sound produced by the nostrils of a goat is heard on reaching the destination. | Success. |
| 10. Falling of a lathi from ones hand. | Failure. |
| 11. Donkey crossing the trodden path. | Success. |
| 12. Braying of an ass on the right side. | Success. |
| 13. Mewing of a cat while unlocking the treasure. | Arrest. |
| 14. Woman weeping on the way. | Retrun. |
| 15. Coming across a urinating woman. | Failure. |
| 16. Twigs of <i>Golberi</i> rolling from any direction. | Leave that direction. |

The eating of certain quadrupeds like the cow and deer is taboo to a Bhatu. As to their Hindu brethern the cow is a sacred mother and is worshipped. A deer is also a sacred animal for it has the appearance of a cow. Bhatu will also not eat creatures which live in water like fish for they are unclean. Fish eat human corpses when they are thrown in a river and whatever we spit in rivers and they have a peculiar liking for urine.

The Bhatu associate natural phenomena with their own lives, for instance 'Halachala' and comet means the death of their leader and eclipses harm a child in the womb.

Bhatu are not born with criminal tendencies. But as a profession, as a means of earning their livelihood and attaining a certain modicum of comfort in habits and mode of life, Bhatu do commit crimes as their fathers and grandfathers did. Moreover committing a crime outside and for the tribe is like a religious injunction and hence a social virtue. The more efficient a Bhatu is in committing a crime the higher is his status in his society. The young girls of the society refuse to accept as bridegrooms any but adept criminals.

Every criminal tribe has its peculiar method of committing crime. A Bhatu when committing thefts, will visit fairs held in villages in the garb of a peasant or a Thakur in search of his victims, and will remove eatables or other articles from shops. He is always offensive in his attitude and strikes his enemy on the nose. He generally commits thefts at places away from his home.

During their nomadic days, the Bhatu did give elaborate training to their children in the commission of crime. The favourite pastimes of the children were playing at making and breaking mud houses, climbing and swimming, racing and pebble throwing and these pastimes took place under the approving eye of some grey beard, accomplished in the art of thieving. The children were also taught everything regarding disguise and the use of code words while committing a theft. They

were also taught the art of hiding small ornaments i.e. rings etc. in their throats, without being easily detected.

On market days and fairs the parents took the young novices with them. While they pretended to purchase something from the shop, children would handle the goods and try to shop lift, if the shopkeeper took no notice it was good, otherwise the elders would rebuke the children and purchase those very articles to save themselves from any suspicion.

Sometimes three or four children would begin to fight at a public place or in a market in order to divert the attention of the shopkeepers. In the meanwhile their brethren who had been appointed for the purpose would remove the articles from the shops of the careless shopkeepers.

The problem before us is how to reclaim and reform the Bhatus into healthy ways of life. The inherent influences, the ingrained vices can only be removed by slow degrees and persistent efforts. It is not enough to keep them under police surveillance, to tolerate their existence or to have passed a Criminal Tribe's Act. They are human beings and have a right to live and live under favourable conditions, without any initial bandicaps. It is a necessary task before the present society, to convert the Bhatus into useful citizens of the state. It is unfortunate that due attention has not yet been paid to these wretched people. The little attention that has been given to them has been based upon entirely wrong principles. The aspect of reform has been ignored while the aspects of control, punishment and suppression have been predominant.

To wean them from their criminal activities it is necessary to raise their standard of living which can only be possible if they are provided with regular work and fair wages. Some improvements should be immediately made.

Small agricultural colonies, should be established. Here the Bhatus should be trained in agricultural methods on scientific lines. In the beginning cooperative societies or the Government should give them subsidy for the construction of their cottages, purchase of cattle, seed, plough, bullocks etc. So long as the yield from the fields is not sufficient to meet all the necessities of life the Government should bear the expenses of making these colonies. The grant of land is a good incentive and prevents temptation to crime.

It must be pointed out that lack of social status is one of the causes that compels the Bhatus to take up the so-called traditional occupation of crime. Therefore suggestions for their

social uplift are most necessary. Unless a social group has fallen into a complete state of stagnation it will adjust itself to the changes which come in the way of progress. At every stage social customs and religious practices need adjustment, for what was once beneficial for a group or society may later prove to be a handicap under changed circumstances. Bhatu have not been able to keep pace with the rapid march of time and therefore occupy one of the lowest rungs in the social ladder. Their self respect has to be rehabilitated.

The convict of to-day is the citizen of tomorrow. But the way we are dealing with the children of the Bhatu indicate that we believe the child of to-day to be the convict of tomorrow. We claim to run the Criminal Tribes' Settlements with a view to turn bad criminals into good citizens. But the way we go about the business has neither corrected the adult into better ways of life nor made the children good citizens. It is not easy to teach new tricks to an old dog. The real hope of reformation of the Bhatu is in their children. The U. P. Criminal Tribes' Committee, 1938, clearly lays down "We recommend that they should be segregated from their parents and kept in a separate part of the building. The parents should however be permitted to see them."

A few suggestions for the revision and the modification of the Criminal Tribes' Act, need immediate attention. The Act was the first weapon used by the Government to suppress the activities of the Criminal Tribes but it has ceased to be useful. At present when a child is born to a Bhatu he is considered to be a criminal from the very beginning and is automatically registered before he attains majority though he may not have committed any offence nor has any inclination to do so. Hence it is but natural for a child to commit crime because he knows he is already regarded as a criminal. This clause of the Act produces a bad psychological effect and therefore, should be revised.

The amendments, in a suitable manner, of those provisions which failed to achieve the objects for which they were introduced are very necessary. This Act is felt in some quarters as a very repressive and inhuman measure. It only restricts the criminal activities of the Bhatu by imposing restrictions on them but does not provide for suitable means of subsistence. It is a system of temporary treatment whereas the Bhatu need an efficient and permanent cure.

The authorities of the Settlements who have been serving

for a number of years have an adequate knowledge of the social and religious life of those in their charge. Some of them should be sent to social welfare schools for training.

The programme of establishing the Bhatus in different villages in batches of ten to twelve families should be taken up very soon. The Settlements look like prisons from where the settlers try to escape on getting opportunities to settle in villages where they can lead a free life.

Therefore smaller colonies for groups of families rather than big Settlements, improved staff acquainted with modern treatment of behaviour problems with an enriched and flexible training programme as determined by careful scientific investigation, will shorten the period of reclamation of the Bhatus from decades to years, provided we have a band of social workers, far-sighted, zealous and adventurous.

It will be a great cultural experiment, epitomising in a generation or two through intelligent human guidance, a process which Nature left to itself takes several centuries to complete.

We are glad that the U. P. Government have decided to repeal the Criminal Tribes Act and are thinking of replacing it with a Habitual Offenders Act or by similar measures. We hope mere abolition of the Act will not be taken as the end in itself for it would be only a means to rehabilitation.

ASSAMESE PROVERBS AND APHORISMS

PROPHULLADATTA GOSWAMI

I

When two village women quarrel it is very likely one of them would fling at the other a saying like : It seems the daughter is more expert than her mother, she twists cotton rolls with the pestle of the rice-cleaning pedal ! This is one of the uses made of proverbs, particularly of the more stinging ones. These thrive by being mouthed by indignant mothers and irritated viragos.

Proverbs are of various kinds, each kind admitting of special uses. A proverb in the words of Cervantes, is " a short sentence founded on long experience," often noted for its pungency. Lafcadio Hearn laid stress on the fact that the proverbial philosophy of a people is more helpful in coming close to their heart than studies of history and geography.

Assamese folk-literature is rich in proverbs and maxims. There are several thousands of them. I shall try to touch on some of them only, for the task seems to be no less than killing an elephant and putting the carcase into a basket, as the saying goes. This saying can be traced back to the sixteenth century, referring, as it does, to an incident in the life of the Vaisnavite reformer, Sri Sankardev.

When a truth is travestied the appropriate saying is—

He says nothing that is not twisted: only twelve women went to draw water,
now the noses of thirteen have been cut off!

One gets a close-up of village life here. The one below is as revealing—

Salt in the curry guests desire,
Rice purchasers seek a large measure.

Salt was a luxury in olden times. Rice purchasers or persons who barter things for rice or paddy are often seen. Let us see what we learn of women—

On a stone your knife sharpen,
Tame with blows a woman.
Do with a wife stamped on by a mother-in-law,
Taste a curry trampled on by fish.
To dogs allow no room,
To woman give no encouragement.

These maxims would make the modern girl impatient and the last would elicit from specialists the remark that it is typically eastern and even Indian. But exasperated husbands in the village take to rough measures in order to coerce unruly wives just as mother-in-laws make capital of the defects of their daughter-in-laws. Though Khasi women are property inheritors they are not eligible to cast votes in their national assemblies. The Khasis have a saying to this effect, which may be translated as, if the hen crows the world will be in ruins' meaning thereby that the crowing business should remain a man's monopoly. The satire of the following proverbs may be contrasted with the bluntness of the above :

I'am hungry, very hungry the husband says,
Retorts the wife, for morning and evening
Take but once.

The maid broke the support of the rice-cleaning pedal, the report reached Gargaon (an old capital).

The wife smashed a (bell-metal) plate, the affair was dropped with a smile*

The following saying throw unfavourable light on the Assamese people's love for non-action and fatalism; it must be remembered however that deductions made from a few proverbs may as likely be misleading :

Nothing can you do according to a plan,
Fate waiting on the way is blind fate.
Rice will suffice while you live,
A hole you'll get when you die.
If God keeps who is your slayer?
If God slays who is your saviour?

II

It is not surprising to find some of these proverbs having parallels in other lands. This is because in them "a certain phase of human existence or a certain characteristic of the human being is dealt with which is very much the same the world over." The mischief brought about by a careless tongue has suggested to the Assamese the saying : One is rewarded for his speech, his speech may lead him to death as well. The Norwegian has it thus : "The tongue works death to the head". The Japanese says : "The mouth is the front-gate to all misfortunes"; the Englishman observes : "Have reins to

*If the mother-in-law chances to break a pot she says it is merely a mud pot; But if the daughter-in-law happens to break the same pot, she has broken a golden pot—so the mother-in-law says."

(A Tamil proverb, The Indian P.E.N. for March, 1940).

your tongue." The proverb : "Spittle thrown up falls on 'one-self'" has a Hebrew analogy : "Whoever expectorates upwards, it falls on his face", as it has a parallel in Sanskrit : "Mud thrown at the sky falls on the head of the thrower," The proverb : "An old woman has two jobs—she husks paddy and also sucks a mango" has its Hebrew parallel in "A woman spins even while she talks." In this connection it may be noted that there are some proverbs which may be found in Assamese as well as in one or other of the tribal dialects. For example,— "The radish that will grow shows its promise even while two-leaved" has an exact parallel in the Kachari dialect. Again when the Assamese says, only hissing remains to the snake which has had its teeth broken, the Kachari says, a barking dog cannot bite.*

The best literary use of Assamese proverbs is to be seen in the chronicles called the Buranjis. A Buranji deals with day to day historical events and political relations. The earliest text belongs to the seventeenth century and is written in homely prose of short sentences. One of the charms of a Buranji lies in its occasional use of popular sayings made in order to explain grave matters. A few instances are set forth from the Kachari Buranji which deals with "the Kachari Rajas from the earliest times to the eighteenth century with special reference to Assam-Cachar relations,"

In the last decade of the sixteenth century the Ahom King ruling over Upper Assam defeated the Kacharis and slew their Raja. The vanquished people had no capable and at the same time legitimate ruler to look after them. So a batch of their representatives approached an official of the Ahom King, paid him homage and said, "We are without a cowherd, we have no guardian. Please restore order in our kingdom...*none pays attention to what a prostitute says.*" The matter was passed on to the King who advised his officers to inquire of the Kacharis what they actually wanted, for it was not considered diplomatic to suggest concessions to a belligerent state. So the applicants were asked, "Yes, there is anarchy in your land and there is also no ruler. *But though the baby stays all the time in its mother's lap it must cry out for its milk.* Now tell us what you actually need." They desired a certain prince who had been kept as a hostage and had in him Kachari blood.

Sometimes complicated political situations are clarified with

*The Kachari proverbs were taken down from a Bodo young man hailing from Goalpara.

the help of appropriate proverbs and parables. When Nawab Mirjumla invaded Assam a large number of the local people went over to his side. When the invader retreated (1662) and the ruler of the land returned to his capital, the latter thought of punishing the renegades wholesale. But he was stayed from slaying so many men by a piece of advice offered by his father-in-law. This was what the statesman said, "when only a few of the hair turn grey, it is soothing to have them picked, but when the whole head is white, it is painful to uproot all the hair."

IV.

Political wisdom is again stored up in certain other sayings. The Ahom dynasty had been ruling over the greater part of Assam for several hundred years till the advent of the British in the third decade of the nineteenth century. The saying which succinctly remembers the strong administration running at the capital goes thus : Slippery are the paths of Gargaon, you cannot distinguish the old and the young armed as every one is with a stick. The implication is, that at Gargoan one is likely to stumble over the law without being conscious at all, so whether he is young or old he is always on his guard. It is possible the saying may have a more unfavourable interpretation. Then it might mean : One's life at the capital is not quite secure; where so many jealousies and intrigues are cropping up one has to go about armed. The political sense of the common people is revealed in such sayings as—

He whose father is not at the *mel* (panchayat) is said to have elephantiasis.

Not to speak out what is right in the *mel* is to acquire sin bit by bit.

The river does nought but dig and fill; the official does nought but appoint and dismiss.

Again what the folk thought of kingship is interesting : The king slays, the mother poisons. That is, such acts are not to be thought of. Is it the elephant that kills or the *mahut* ? so the people say when they consider of the powers of the king delimited by ministerial control. It should be noted that the Assam administration was a limited monarchy, the king advised and supervised by his three ministers. Assam lost its independence when the kings became degenerated and the ministers came to compete with one another in order to make the king a puppet and thus wield all the powers themselves.

V.

The *bachans* or sayings of Dak Purusa are of an aphoristic

character. The essence of an aphorism, as John Morley observes, is the compression of a mass of thought into a single saying. It is, as he says, good sense brought to a point. Some of the *bachans* are of the nature of maxims, in that they enjoin rules of conduct.

Dak's *bachans* are current in Assam, Bengal and northern India in general, where he is often known as Ghag. It cannot be ascertained whether there was a real person of the name of Dak. The Assamese tradition has it that Dak was the son of a potter-woman of the village Lehi-dangara in the Kamrup district, who was blessed by her guest Varaha Mihira of Ujjain. We cannot say how old these *bachans* are, but their idiom is that of the Barpeta side, that is, of north Kamrup. One of the *bachans* explicitly states Lehi-dangara as Dak's birth-place and it adds that the village possessed three hundred and sixty ponds: There have been some persons, including Col. P.R.(T.) Gurdon, who claim to have found ruins of the old locality near Barpeta.

These sayings probably originated at a very early time—at least, a considerable time before the fourteenth century, when we find our written literature on a good footing. Recent Assamese criticism lends to place them about the twelfth century. The conclusions are based on certain sayings which prescribe the duties of hospitality, the plantation of trees and the construction of tanks, and on the aspersions cast on women in general. The implication is that the time was one when Buddhistic tenets held sway but when also Tantric rites tended to encourage lightness as regards sexual morality. One of the extant manuscripts of Dak's *bachans* "begins with the good and bad points in a man and a woman and then it contains utterances full of worldly wisdom and practical knowledge about agriculture, etc.," (Descriptive Catalogue of Assamese Manuscripts, p.41; Calcutta University).

The aphorist was called Dak because the moment he landed on earth he started giving directions in regard to women in childbirth and the care of new-born babies. His sayings touch upon all aspects of a Hindu peasant's daily routine—birth, rituals, morals, politics, the choice of a wife, cultivation, purchase of cattle, auspicious days, the rains in relation to crops. Full of pointed commonsense these sayings testify to a penetrating intelligence.

Dak's strictures on women remind one of Hesiod's (eighth century B.C.) unflattering picture of the fair sex :

The faithless woman is never at peace with herself.
Just as the pot pays no attention to milk.

Reject a cow with a hanging udder,
Discard a woman who smiles too often.

She is wanton who, leaving her home, loiters about; who looks behind frequently when on the way; who thinks of other males; and who goes wherever she wills. Dak says, of her beware!

It seems Dak specialised in the psychology of the bad type. But he was not a pessimist; he has also good things to say of women. Nevertheless his strictures on women are the most considerable of his *bachans*.

Let a few more instances of this aphorist's commonsense be cited :

The opium-eater says, do not taste opium; the harlot prescribes chastity; the thief tries to keep the non-thief from stealing; the hunter says, hunting is sinful.

In adversity even consoling words are better than nothing more helpful.

Jewels one may have in plenty: it is paddy alone which saves one from death.

No use bringing a suit when the Barua is inattentive;
no use with a field which grows no paddy.

This mention of an inattentive magistrate again brings to mind Hesiod who also has much to say against the official.

RITUAL FRIENDSHIP IN CHHATTISGARH

S. C. DUBE

In the folk culture of Chhattisgarh ritual friendships occupy an important place. Both the primitives as well as the Hindu castes recognize and enter into various types of ritual friendships. In the social life of the local groups and the village community these friendships have a special significance, for they bring together not only the unrelated families within the same tribe or caste but through them close inter-tribal and inter-caste contacts are also made possible. While many of these friendships denote only a romantic tie or an emotional attachment, the more important ones among them are relationships for a lifetime involving definite obligations and privileges and as such are taken very seriously.

All references to ritual friendship in the poetry of rural Chhattisgarh carry with them a tinge of romance. Here are a few examples:

- (i) I pulled down my house,
And constructed a hut;
For you my friend,
I am tied to this village,
Stay on for the night my *Phool* (flower-friend)
Go in the morning!
- (ii) You have long hair,
And tiny sparkling teeth,
I long to have you;
Without you I cannot live!
Stay on for the night my *Jawara*
Go in the morning.
- (iii) It is a dark night
And the moon is taking long to rise,
My *Meet* has become mad
He is not speaking to me!

In the tribal folk-tales of Chhattisgarh, references to such friendships are both complimentary and otherwise. On the human level these friendships are invariably between the young prince and the chief minister's son. Through thick and thin the minister's son keeps company with his ritual friend, warns him against impending dangers, counsels him in his difficulties and in an hour of crisis risks even his life to save

his friend. The king's son often misunderstands his friend, imputes motives to him and questions his integrity; but the minister's son remains steadfast in his duty and devotion till at last the king's son wakes to his own faults and failings and turns to his friend remorseful and repentant. In the folk-tales of the animal world the conditions are very different. Friendships of this type exist between the jackal and the tiger or between the jackal and the crocodile. For sometime everything goes on well; then there is some misunderstanding followed by flagrant breaches of the rules of friendship. After a series of cunning and treacherous acts on both sides the jackal invariably emerges triumphant. In folk-tales having a bearing on the supernatural world ghost characters and demons often take their ritual friendships seriously and try to be helpful to their friends.

Ritual friendships entered into in Chhattisgarh can be divided into two main categories. In the first we can place the more important and serious types of friendship like Mahaprasad, Tulsidal, Gangajal, Gajamung and Sakhi. Of these, Mahaprasad is certainly the highest and the most honourable type of friendship. Tulsidal and Gangajal are also important but they are definitely regarded as lower than the Mahaprasad relationship. Gajamung and Sakhi are somewhat inferior, although they too are significant enough not to be disregarded lightly. These friendships involve definite obligations and after entering into them persons have to observe certain well-established conventions. Secondly, for entering into these friendships one has to pass through certain prescribed rituals and that entails considerable expenditure. Necessarily, therefore, such friendships often denote the maturity of a friendship which has stood the test of time.

In the second category we can place the less serious ritual friendships that only denote emotional attachments between individuals and express their affection for each other. Some of the friendships falling in this category are: Phool, Meet, Keora, Jawara, Bhajiphool, Kara Pan, Same Kata etc.

Decisions for entering into the higher forms of friendships, it is said, should never be taken in a hurry. Some time must be allowed to elapse in order to test the strength of love existing between individuals desirous of entering into these friendships. It is friendship for life and as such cannot be taken lightly. Having taken a decision, the parties concerned speak about it to their elders and friends to obtain their permission and approval. A date is fixed and relations and friends from

far off and nearby villages are invited for the ceremony. Both sides get *lai*, jaggery and some other delicacies, buy new sets of clothes and hire the indispensable band of Ganda musicians. If they like, the caste people invite a Brahmin to officiate at the ceremony. The Brahmin generally sprinkles water over the prospective ritual friends thereby exercising his purifying influence and giving a character of religious binding to their friendship. The tribal people, however, manage without the priest. On the day of the ceremony the courtyard of one of the parties is besmeared with cowdung, a *chowk* is laid in the middle and in an atmosphere of festivity and among friends, elders and relatives the ceremony is performed. Music is played outside and the prospective friends are seated in the middle of the courtyard. They exchange sets of new clothes and then proceed to enter into the friendship. For the Mahaprasad friendship a special *prasad* is prepared and both the friends give a little of it in each other's mouth and greet and wish each other as Mahaprasad. The *prasad* is then distributed to all present at the occasion. Those entering the Tulsidal relationship put a few drops of water with Tulsi leaves in each other's mouth. Similarly those becoming Gajamung give to each other the *prasad* prepared for god Jagannath on the procession day. For Gangajal relationship they put in each other's mouth a few drops of the sacred water of any of the sacred rivers brought from a holy place. As soon as this has been done they wish and greet each other by the name of the object with which they swear their friendship and then distribute the sweets to the people who have assembled there. Those who can afford give a feast also on such occasions.

These friendships are characterised by some significant features:

(i) An individual can have ritual friendship of one type with only one person. For example, if A is a Mahaprasad of B he can not enter into the same relationship with any one else. He can, however, become Tulsidal of C, Gangajal of D, Gajamung of E and Sakhi of F; but these friendships too must be exclusive.

(ii) In all these relationships the partners of the ritual friends automatically come to have the same type of ritual friendship. If A is the Mahaprasad of B, Mrs. A will automatically become the Mahaprasad of B and Mrs B, and similarly Mrs B will become the Mahaprasad of A and Mrs A. A husband also has to maintain the relationship that his wife has entered into; his wife's ritual friends automatically become his friends also,

(iii) An individual must not address his ritual friend by his proper name but by the name of the type of friendship they have entered into. A and B will therefore always call each Mahaprasad and so also their wives.

(iv) All these friendships involve a tradition of hospitability. If A goes to the house of B either alone or with his wife and children or even with a few friends, it is necessary for B to receive all of them with hospitality. They should be given good food and if they are fond of it, some liquor should also be provided for them. At marriages and feasts they are given a place of honour and can be depended upon for help.

(v) Persons having ritual friendships of the higher order should never quarrel, abuse or beat each other. They must help each other in time of need such as marriage, child-birth, death etc.

(vi) On the borders of Orissa and Chhattisgarh on all festivals they send some rice, pulse etc. to the house of each other and on the 'new eating day' they exchange presents of new clothes.

While the higher types of friendships are entered into mostly by adults and grown-up people, the lesser ones are the favourites of the romantically inclined younger people. Often they denote spontaneous outbursts of emotion. These friendships may be between two boys, or two girls or also between a boy and a girl. They do not require any elaborate ceremony nor do they involve any considerable expenditure. Presence of a few friends preferably of the same age group is of course desirable. For a flower-friendship two persons would simply put a flower on each other's ears and greet each other by saying 'Johar Phool'. Later some eatables like *lai* and jaggery may be distributed. Several flowers (Mogra, Bhajiphoor, Keora, Kuriphoor etc.) are used for these flower-friendships; or people may choose to become simple Meet (friend).

Though these friendships do not involve any serious obligations, some rules are expected to be observed by the friends of this type. Firstly, such friends also must not address each other by their proper names but call each other Phool, Meet, Keora etc. according to the nature of their friendship. Secondly, they must not abuse or beat each other; and thirdly, they must not either talk or hear ill of each other. For if they do so they are guilty of the sin of getting away from their friend. It is customary for these friends to help each other on occasions like marriage, child-birth or death.

In conclusion it may be said that while these ritual friend-

ships do not involve any wide and far-reaching socio-economic implications, they do serve as bonds of inter-tribal and inter-caste contacts; and in the case of higher friendships considerably widen the circle of relationships. The tradition of friendship established by the parents has to be carried further by the children, and besides kinsmen and affines a new category of relationships is also established from whom help at occasions of need can be depended upon. The primary function of these friendships however, remains to be the satisfaction of the emotional urge for affection and friendship; and through occasional visits the ritual friends try to break the monotony of their dull and drab lives.

IS ABORIGINAL ART ORIGINAL ?

U. R. EHRENFELS

I. THE QUESTION DEFINED

THE artistic charm of "aboriginal art" in India has at last been "detected" and begins to get popularized in many fashionable magazines. The hope is not unfounded that also the practical side of all this glamour may come into its own and help the aboriginal population to survive in the struggle for existence which the rapidly increasing population in the plains has brought about in a hitherto unprecedented way. Folk-art generally, and truly aboriginal art in particular, proved a reservoir of originality and strength in many other countries and there is no reason why a similar course should not be followed in India. The excellent results which have been achieved on similar lines in the West should certainly encourage all such hopes. India's wealth in aboriginal tradition and the potentialities of truly original creativeness in her mountaineer, and hill tribe populations has hardly been tapped. The India of the villages, towns and metropolitan cities in the plains could find a rich reward in utilizing the inspirations that are thus being offered.

This would be a case of the two-way culture contact, by which it is not only the civilization from the plains that is being spread and made to invade the hills but also the original source of cultural life in the hills which is utilized as inspiration for new cultural activities and artistic forms in the plains.

But is this aboriginal art really original in an ethnological sense? Much clarification on principal grounds could be gained from an analysis of some aspects of this problem which are of no small interest to anthropology generally and Indian cultural history in particular.

In considering this question it will have to be realized that the temper of culture contact in the aspects of artistic self-expression is sometimes a little different from that in other aspects of life. We are not surprised to find an artist in our own social setting of different temperament and given to tastes or inclinations, not generally found among businessmen

or Government officials. It will be wise to make such allowance also for the moods and unexpected turns of mind in the mental make-up of aboriginal or "folk" artists. Armed with such circumspection only, may we hope to understand the round-about ways of culture contact which appear to be sometimes particularly jumpy in the realm of the *muses*.

This particular constellation makes the decision difficult, which the student of culture has here to take in the question of true originality. All aboriginal groups have no doubt been creative in the fields of art, since a period that may be counted in ten thousands of years, or in thousands. But all aborigines of this country have also had culture-contact, however remote and indirect, with the centres of highly complex civilizations in India and during a period that may also be counted in thousands of years. In the vast area in which these processes took place, much cultural two-way traffic is bound to have occurred.

Some particular element of art, borrowed 500 years ago from the plains, may still survive among a particular aboriginal group and, after its rediscovery by a modern journalist, appears to him equally strange, as "aboriginal," although it was perhaps from his own great grand-parents that the aboriginals had firstly borrowed that particular element of art. Art is more attractive to and generally more quickly diffused by artistic-minded people than many other aspects of civilization and culture. This is true of "good art" and "bad art" alike. Altogether unaesthetic attempts at embellishing life acquire sometimes as much popularity, or more as the genuinely original expression of genius that marks creative art. The judgement of the *connoisseur*, however unerringly true in the fields of aesthetic evaluation may yet not suffice to decide the question whether one particular aspect of art is truly aboriginal, or has ultimately been borrowed from pre-historic village or city-civilizations, and merely kept alive in the tribal environment up to now, whilst it has been lost in its original home, since long. Methods of checking various forms of culture-contact historically are likewise quite often incapable of solving this problem alone. Yet its solution may be made the object of serious scientific attempts, also here in India, as it has been the case in almost all other parts of the world.

2. SOME SOUTH INDIAN PROBLEMS OF STYLE

The bamboo combs, which are being fashioned by hill

tribes in the South Western Ghats, have been considered as a possible cultural link with aboriginal South East Asia, already by Preuss and Thurston, although the latter rejected the former's belief in a magic significance of the engraved designs on such bamboo combs.¹

Especially the combs of the Kadar were considered as documenting a more than merely general affinity ever since Skeet and Blagden's descriptions of Semang style. The details and photographs of Semang bamboo combs in Evan's and Schebasta's reports support this view. My first, short, illustrated publication on this subject² shows points of resemblance and difference with Evan's detailed descriptions and photo material.³

The following points are of resemblance between Kadar and Semang combs:

1. The bamboo comb is a woman's ornament.

2. It is stuck sidewise, or on top, into the loose (and often frizzly) shock of hair so that the ornamented upper edge of the comb is slanting forward and sometimes actually rests on the head in a line almost parallel to the cranial vault.

3. The teeth of the comb are separated by a space of sometimes more than 2 mm. so that the ready object would appear to approximate our idea of a fork, rather than that of a comb, which is the more remarkable as lack of craftsmanship can hardly be held responsible for this unusually wide space between the prongs of the comb which renders them rather inefficient in combing ordinary hair. The teeth in the bamboo combs of the Muduvar, neighbours to the Kadar in Cochin, which I examined, were not only thin and flat but also not much closer to each other so that combing of ordinary hair is quite practicable. It has, however, to be remembered that true Negrito hair are kinky and thick and thus require a treatment altogether different from that of straight or only slightly wavy hair. Such truly frizzly Negrito hair is still a feature among some of the present-day Kadar; as figure 1 of my above publication shows.⁴ Kadar women of today are still proud of such curly hair tufts as a tribal characteristic, though they are at the same time taking

¹ *Castes and Tribes in Southern India*, Madras, 1909, Vol III, p-28

² In *Silpi*, Madras, September 1948, n 10, *Seq*

³ *The Negritos of Malaya*, Cambridge, 1937, especially p 77 *Seq* and also the plate facing p 80 The frontispiece "Two Lanok Negrito girls" illustrates the way of wearing bamboo combs.

⁴ *Op cit*

more to the habit of oiling their hair heavily in plains fashion, thus "dekinking" it artificially.

4. The ornamental design, on the protruding upper edge of the comb is a number of horizontal pattern bands, consisting of line and dot ornaments of very characteristic design, leaving a broader panel in the centre, which is ornamented in Semang combs but sometimes left empty, or ornamented differently, by the Kadar (*vide*: below sub para 3).

5. The patterns used in ornamentation are strikingly similar, if not identical in some cases.

Without here going into details of technique in production, function and meaning of the combs, the following differences in style should be mentioned:

1. Whilst the upper protruding edge of the Semang comb is square, the Kadar cut a deep V-shaped kerb into it, which rather upsets the common arrangement of horizontal pattern. This may be done in imitation of more elaborate ornaments which we find among the neighbours of the Kadar.

2. The number of horizontal pattern bands, which Evans says are usually "six or eight",⁵ among Semang, is more variable among Kadar being sometimes reduced to three or four and then leaving a broad space without ornament between the upper and lower pattern band.

3. This inner square of the Kadar comb is sometimes filled by vertical, instead of horizontal pattern bands, so as to form a square in the centre of the protruding part in the bamboo comb. These vertical pattern bands, however, are of the same styles as the horizontal ones.

4. Naturalistic representations of flower pots and other objects outside the original sphere of Kadar experience are sometimes inserted into these inner squares thus entirely up-setting the original horizontal arrangement, which appears to be the older form, common to both Kadar and Semang.

5. The Kadar differentiate between two varieties of combs: (a) the *chagar*, a 3- or 5- pronged and generally smaller ornamental comb stuck into the hair, but not used for combing, and (b) the bigger *chipu* which is used for combing less carefully ornamented and armed with a varying number of teeth, generally more than the traditional 5 prongs of the *chagar*. The word *chipu*, used for this comb is common to Kadar and their neighbours (aboriginal and non-aboriginal), whilst *chagar* is used for the 3 or 5 pronged Kadar comb only.

⁵ *Op cit.*, p 77

These points of difference between Semang- and Kadan-combs suggest influence on the Kadan style, from the side of their neighbours. The theory of a common origin in both Semang- and Kadan-combs, would appear to be further supported by common features in ideology and the religious culture pattern of the two people, the Kadan side of which, I have described elsewhere and in connection with their world creation-myth.⁶

The divine creator-couple *Malavai* and *Malakuratti* in this world creation-myth of the Kadar is being held to have come from underneath the world owing to a rising flood. The Semang say that three grandmothers live under the earth and that these "three grandmothers make the waters rise from under the earth, causing rising of water from below the earth, accompanied by storms and subsidence of ground."⁷ The Kadan world creation myth further proceeds in describing, violent quarrels between certain neighbouring mountains in the course of which whole mountain peaks have been thrown over distances of many miles and other mountains badly damaged.

This, however, is only one more allusion of similarity among other points of resemblance. It must on the other hand be stressed that both Schebesta and Evans incline to believe that bamboo combs and their patterns are borrowed, not genuinely original feature in Semang culture, though Evans also says that this borrowing "is probably not recent, the origin.....being ascribed to the ancestor deities by the Negritoes."⁸

The question of bamboo-comb patterns appear connected with the complex problem of the ornamental element in aboriginal and folk-art of India. When I visited and first described, wall-paintings in a cave at Bhopal,⁹ I noticed, a few designs that seemed to be half-way between the ornamental- and the vividly naturalistic treatment of animal motives depicted there. This combination of two stylistic elements occurs also in the Santal-Bengal sphere of folk-art and its modern variation. On the face of it, this combination should not appear, "antique" in the ethnological sense, being a combination, as it were, of two probably heterogeneous stylistic traditions. Its wide diffusion in India, however, suggests the possibility of a fairly old product

⁶ *Anthropos*, Posieaux-Froideville, (in the press) and in a paper, read at the Anthropological Society of Bombay.

⁷ Evans, *op. cit.*, p. 12

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 136

⁹ Published with one of my illustrations in *Sunday News of India*, Bombay, 14-12-1947.

of contact which has somehow come to be stabilized in an early stage of "acculturation". This idea has been brought home to me whilst comparing the house forms of Periya and Kolli-Malayalees respectively. These two sub-groups of the tripartite, Tamil speaking, "Malayalee" hill tribe in Salem and Trichinopoly districts, consider themselves and appear to be members of one and the same community. My field observations among them agreed on the whole with this belief though the age and nature of foreign influence which must have had impressed itself on these two sub-tribes are of quite different nature, as I have described at other places.¹⁰

The Periya-Malayalees are under influence from the plains since coffee plantation has been introduced in their hills, about hundred years ago whilst their cousins in the Kolli Hills have, been less affected, by modern culture changes in their immediate surrounding. Yet they appear to have come under the strong influence of an agricultural and matrilineal society, perhaps hundreds of years or more before coffee plantation has started the present-day changes among the Periya-Malayalees. It agrees with this general situation that the houses of the Periya-Malayalees are conic, small structures, erected on round mud-platforms whilst the Kolli Malayalee houses are rectangular and somewhat bigger buildings on rectangularly laid out mud platforms. The general arrangement, however, and the style of ornamentation are almost the same in both types of houses. Whether the style of art, here executed, is older than the divergent architectural types or rather younger and as such superseding both types, is a question, the more intriguing from the ethnological point of view, as here too the particular combination of ornamental and naturalistic style makes itself felt.

CONCLUSION

The observations under review here make it unlikely that general decision could be reached on the question of ultimate originality in aboriginal art-styles, unless and until the knowledge of such styles is much broader based on all parts of India, than this the case today. Systematic comparison of "tribal" with "folk-art" and their variations in style has not sufficiently complete material to its disposition, to allow of any general conclusions yet. Many seemingly aboriginal features of style, and even per-

¹⁰ *Traces of a Matriarchal Civilization among Kolli-Malayalees*, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol IX, 1943, Article No 8 and *Aboriginal Womanhood* in "*Eastern Anthropologist*", Lucknow, Vol. 3, No. 1

sonal beautification among aboriginal groups in this country, may turn out to be conserved feature of mediaeval or antique Indian city and village civilizations, which have since been lost to the peoples of the plains. Foreign invasions, climatic deterioration, economic depression and growing over-population in the plains may have been some of the causes for this downward trend in the aesthetic side of every day life among the working classes in the plains. The origin and history of flower ornamentation, on hair-dress and ears in India, is another problem which awaits solution through such comparisons. The flower, worn in the hair, among hill-tribes, may be the ultimate ancestor, or alternately, the descendent of the corresponding, though formally different, tradition in the plains.

These are, however, questions of theoretical value to cultural history, whilst the question regarding the psychological originality of aboriginals *in artibus* has not been discussed here at all. This aspect promises more definite and positive results, even without a far-reaching preparation, provided the psychological approach to the undoubtedly existing creativeness of the aboriginal mind is being used.

A STUDY OF HEIGHT AND WEIGHT OF THE CASTES AND TRIBES OF GUJARAT.*

D. N. MAJUMDAR & S. BAHADUR

At the instance of the Gujarat Research Society in 1946, we undertook a racial and serological survey of important castes and tribes of Maha Gujarat including Cutch, and Kathiawar. The total number of adults, all male, we measured was 2606. Following as it did two previous surveys namely the Anthropometric Survey of the U.P. and the Anthropometric Survey of Bengal, we used similar technique and methods of grouping in order that the data could be compared with those of the previous surveys. The advantage of using the same technique of measurements and similar methods of grouping and also of measurement by the same investigator is likely to be conceded by all. We have purposely restricted ourselves to the same number of measurements and a limited number at that.

The inquiry was financed by the Gujarat Research Society and supported by a large number of cultural institutions of Gujarat and the administrations of the States where the data were collected. The response of the people to anthropometric tests cannot by any chance be such as to bring together a large number of people for the purpose, yet through the good offices of the various institutions, the provincial administration and the active support of the States, we could collect a sufficiently large number of people who appeared to share with us, our interests and anxiety as well. We received ungrudging assistance from the hospitable people of Gujarat, Kathiawar and Cutch. His Highness, the Maharaja of Porbunder evinced great interest in the inquiry and his enlightened and informed interest in our work made our programme in Porbunder pleasant. The Diwan Sahab of Rajpipla State had been very helpful, for we have visited Rajpipla more than once, and every time we received hospitality and active support. The Darbar of Baroda, Nawanagar, Cutch, and of a number of small States of Gujarat and Kathiawar have all extended uniform courtesy, and hospitality. It is difficult to select names out of a host of people who have helped

* The paper forms part of the Racial and Serological Survey Report submitted by the senior author to the Gujarat Research Society published in 1949. (J. G. R. S. Vol. IX., July 1949). For references, please see the Journal.

us but we shall be failing in our duty if we do not mention Sri Girdhari Lal of Jamnagar, Sri Beerchand Pannachand of Samadhiala, Mr. Kanti Lal Bhatt of Cutch, Mr. Govind Singh of Porbunder, Mr. Magan Lal Vyas and Mr. A. V. Pandey of Rajpipla. To Sri P. G. Shah, Vice-President of the Gujarat Research Society, and now President of the Bombay Anthropological Society, our debts are immense for it was he who equipped us with all the facilities and rendered ungrudging help throughout the Survey.

We measured 24 groups. They are, Bhatia, Koli, Mixed-Artisans, Bhil, Misc. Tribal Groups I, and II, Kunbi Pattidar, Sunni Bora, Miana, Rajput, Luhana, Memon, Khoja, Bhangi, Nagar Brahmin, Bhadela, Oswal Jain, Machhi-Kharwa, Rabari, Wagher, Audich Brahmin, Parsi. The Bhatia, Wagher, Bhadela, Rabari, Miana, Khoja, Oswal Jain, were measured partly in Kathiawar and partly in Cutch, the Khoja, Nagar Brahmin, Luhana, Mher, were mostly from Jamnagar, Dwarka, and Porbunder. The artisans were from Ahmedabad and adjacent villages. The Sunni Bora, Kunbi Pattidar, Machhi-Kharwa were measured in Porbunder, Rajpipla and Cutch. The Parsi were measured in Bilimora and Bombay. The Audich Brahmin belong to various places as they were not found in one locality, and we did not go for them to any particular concentration. The Bhil were from Rajpipla, Panchmahals, and Western Khandesh.

The statistical analysis of the anthropometric data have been printed in the Journal of the Gujarat Research Society ; the Serological data had already been published in the same journal. We shall in this paper discuss the heights and weights of the various social groups we measured, and also estimate the surface area on the basis of the data, we have.

Recently a number of interesting comparisons of heights and weights have been made and new facts have been brought to light on the basis of such comparisons. In his paper on "Comparisons of heights and weights of German civilians recorded in 1946—47 of Royal Air Force and other British Series," Dr. G. M. Morant shows that changes were taking place in the distribution of measurements of British populations. Appreciable differences have been found between the mean height and recorded weight, and weights standardised for the mean height of German children of different towns. Similar comparisons have been made for adult population as well. The influence of occupation has also been determined as it is reflected in mean weights between heavy and light workers.

On the basis of the age and mean height given by the post-war Survey, it is found that the mean stature is greater than any of the pre-war mean of a regional section of male adult population of the British Zone of Germany and Dr. Morant thinks that pre-war standards for German men were probably underestimates of their mean heights. In other investigations it has been found that there is an increase in stature in all parts of the world during the last few decades ; for example, Allein finds a continuous and a fairly rapid biological change to be in progress at present among young men entering Universities and probably others also. The proportion of under-graduates entering the University of Toronto, Canada, who were 6' tall or more of 17-20 years inclusive increased from 6.8% to 17.5% and the proportion who were less than 5'-6" dropped from 18.8% to 9.7%. In other words, " in spite of depressing conditions over a long period, those who were entering University and Colleges show no sign in any way of being stunted, though the diet is obviously insufficient to maintain weight at levels regarded as normal a few years ago." The reason for the upward trend in height are yet to be discovered, but it must be pleasing to find that our race is not becoming diminutive or there is nothing inherently wrong with our social order. Similar investigations in India might show the trend of biological change among the different sections of the population. In India investigation can be carried on among the various endogamous groups at different levels of cultural development with different dietetic standards so that we may be able to tell whether improved dietary, knowledge, improved hygiene, or the germ cells determine such variations in stature and weight.

The present material cannot give us any of these informations except the changes that occur in the distribution of measurements for different endogamous groups for the adult population varying from 18 to 48 years of age.

STATISTICAL STUDY OF AGE, WEIGHT, STATURE OF 15 SOCIAL GROUPS OF MAHA GUJARAT.

On classifying the raw data according to the requirements of the present analysis, we find that the maximum number of individuals falls within the age-group 20-32 years except for the groups Oswal Jain, Bhadela and Kunbi Pattidar. In the case of the last, the concentration of the individuals is between the ages 30-40 years (Table I). As there are very few individuals below

18 years and above 48 years except among Machhi-Kharwa and Rajputs in both of which the number of individuals above 48 years are fairly numerous, but they have been omitted for our purpose as a separate consideration was not possible. The importance of the age group 18 years to 35 years must be conceded as physical maturity starts generally from 18 years of age onwards and in old ages there is a decline in physical competence and standards. This distribution of individuals on age basis appears satisfactory in a sense, particularly in accordance with the sampling technique which suggests that representative type of individuals should be considered at random to give a complete picture of the social groups, they come from. As a matter of fact the precision of the average values is considerably affected by the number of individuals considered in a particular social group. In the present context the total number of individuals in a social group is generally 100 except for Bhatia (29) Bhangi (40) and Bhadela (51). On further classifying these groups into sub-groups on age basis the number of individuals in that case is markedly reduced, and the present material therefore, should be examined under these limitations. We propose, however, to exclude those mean values from our statistical study, which are based on very small sample, as it is likely that these may influence the general trends of our conclusions.

From the preliminary examination of the material, it appears that the social groups differ between themselves with respect to magnitude and arrangement, in weight and stature, and also the distribution of these two characters is different as regards their ages. It is found in some cases that individuals belonging to a particular age were absent from our data. In the case of Wagher Muslims, for example, there were no individuals beyond the age of 38 years. Similarly there is a gap between the ages 39-45 years in case of Bhadela as a result of which we could not study the groups at these age periods.

As will be evident from the Tables, the variation in case of stature is smaller than that of weight, which is natural, as the stature is constitutional to some extent and depends upon the racial status of the individual or of the group as a whole while the weight depends primarily upon health and nutritive conditions. It will also be seen from the Tables that there are some sudden increase or decrease in both the characters which is partly due to the small number of individuals on which mean values are based and partly due to abnormal values of the characters themselves.

As the present values of the means of the two characters have been considered for all the social groups examined here, the differences in the mean values are studied only with respect to age; the possibility of the mean values being quite different in two different social groups for the same age cannot, however, be ruled out. To eliminate this we have considered each social group separately, but then we have grouped the individuals in intervals of 5 years. This was done simply because in India the consideration of age, its recording and remembering, is not at all important for an individual. One will not hesitate in telling one's age as 30 years even when he may be 40 or more. There are no records anywhere from which to check and verify, as vital statistics is defective in India and registration of births and deaths does not give any accurate idea of the trends of Indian demography. Educational institutions are also not free from this defect. Guardians feel pride in entering the wrong age of their ward in school register showing probably that the latter started education at an early age or could take an examination too early for his age; the above considerations make it necessary that we should take age groups rather than individual ages. The grouping of ages also finds support in the fact that the variation of the characters within particular age groups is considerably smaller making them more or less homogeneous though there are exceptions.

Keeping the above points in view the mean values of stature and weight have been arranged group-wise considering the social groups separately.

Inter-Group Study:—In the age group 18-23 years Bhatia occupy the highest position with mean weight 114.6 lbs. and mean stature 164.4 cm. then in order comes Oswal Jain having 108.6 lbs. and 164.6 cm., as their mean weight and stature respectively. Next in order come Nagar Brahmin 105.2 lbs, 162.4 cm. Rajput 103.7 lbs. 163.4 cm., Bhadela 101.6 lbs. 163.0 cm., Luhana 100.7 lbs. 164.3 cm., Audich Brahmin, Kunbi Pattidar come next with Artisans, Machhi-Kharwa, Misc. Gr. I and Bhangi as the last having the minimum values for mean weight and stature in this age group. Of course the Waghar both Hindu and Muslims do not resemble any and they occupy a distinct position.

Next to the above age group we have the classification of social groups for ages 23-28. Here again we see that Bhadela 118.4 lbs., 165.7 cms., Bhatia 117.3 lbs, 166.3 cm., Luhana,

117.1 lbs. 166.1 cm Audich Brahmin 112.3 lbs., 165.2 cm. Oswal Jain 111.7 lbs., 163.0 cm. occupy their respective positions as placed here. Nagar Brahmin, Rajput, Kunbi Pattidar come next with artisans, Machhi Kharwa, Mis. Tribal I and Bhangi having the lowest values of the two characters in this case also.

Further, in case of the age group 28-33 years the Bhatia stand at the top but as this value is based on 3 individuals, we will not hazard an opinion. The arrangements of the groups in this case is quite similar to the two cases cited above. They being arranged thus: Bhadela 126.8 lbs., 166.1 cm., Luhana 122.5 lbs. 165.4 cm, Oswal Jain 114.9 lbs., 165.1 cm., Nagar Brahmin 113.5 lbs., 164.8 cm., Rajput 112.1 lbs., 165.7 cm., Audich Brahmin 110.9 lbs. 166.7 cm. The lowest position occupied by the groups Machhi-Kharwa, Artisans, Koli and Bhangi as in the previous cases, is quite expected.

Considering the age group 33-38 years, the relative arrangement of the groups remains more or less unchanged with Bhadela, 139.6 lbs., 165.0 cm., Bhatia, 132.8 lbs., 163.5 cm., Kunbi Pattidar, 118. 4 lbs., 164.2 cm., Nagar Brahmin, 115. 6 lbs., 163.6 cm., Luhana 115.1 lbs., 163.5 cm., Oswal Jain 112.6 lbs., 164.2 cm., Rajput 105.3 lbs., 160.2 cm., arranged in order. Towards the end come again the same groups, Artisans, Machhi-Kharwa, Koli, Bhangi and Miscellaneous Group I.

We see from Table 1, that in the last two age groups there is a gradual decrease in the number of individuals falling within it. This will considerably affect the conclusion but to remove this we have not considered such cases whenever they occurred.

In case of the last but one age group ranging from 38-43 years, the relative position of the groups remain unchanged except for Kunbi Pattidar who occupy here the top-most position with 143.1 lbs., weight and a stature of 165.4 cms. The rest are arranged as follow: Nagar Brahmin 129.4 lbs. 164. 3 cms., Luhana 122.8 lbs., 163.2 cm., Audich Brahmin 121.4 lbs. 163. 4 cms., Oswal Jain 116. 3 lbs., 163 3 cm., Rajput 105. 0 lbs. 165.5 cm., with Artisans, Machhi-Kharwa, Koli, Misc. Gr. I, the Bhangi occupying the lowest position.

Coming to the last group with ages ranging from 43-48 years we find that the arrangement is with Nagar Brahmin 125.7 lbs., 162.1 cm. at the top of the scale, followed by Oswal Jain 120.8 lbs., 163.9 cms., Kunbi Pattidar 120.4 lbs., 164.7 cms., Audich Brahmin, Luhana and Rajput coming next to the above with artisans, Koli, Machhi-Kharwa, Miscellaneous Group I, and Bhangi occupying the other extremity.

Intra-Group Study.—From intra-group study a very interesting feature is revealed by the present material. As we have considered two different individuals at different ages and not the same individual at different ages, of course of the same ethnic group, we may not be in a position to say anything definite about the increasing or decreasing tendency in the mean values of the characters as we proceed from younger to older generation. As will be evident from the data in case of stature, the mean values record a decline.

The mean values of stature in case of the groups Bhadela, Oswal Jain, Audich Brahmin generally centre round 165 cms. with a very slight increase or decrease from this value, while the mean values of stature in case of the groups Kunbi-Pattidar, Rajput and Nagar Brahmin falls generally below this value; the range of the variation in both the above sets being very small. In case of the groups Artisans, Koli, Machhi-Kharwa, Miscellaneous Group I and Bhangi described as the lowest groups on the basis of physical features, the mean values are generally centred round 160 cm. and the order of variation from one age group to the other is slightly more than the previous groups. Studying the order of variation in these cases in various age groups, we may conclude that among the higher castes there is more homogeneity than is obtained among the lower castes or groups. How far this is due to intermixture is worth investigation. Considering the distribution of weight at various age groups for each social group we see that Luhana, Nagar Brahmin and Bhadela exceed 120 lbs. in weight and the range of variation in these groups is also significantly high. The mean values of the weight in case of the lowest groups i.e., Koli, Artisan, Misc. Gr. I, Machhi-Kharwa, and Bhangi do not exceed 110 lbs. in any of the age groups and the range of variation is significant.

As we know that social and economic factors do influence the body-build, on the basis of *a priori* knowledge, we may arrange the groups with respect to their economic and social status. The arrangement will be of the following order. Nagar Brahmin, Audich Brahmin, Luhana, Rajput, Bhatia, Oswal Jain, Kunbi Pattidar, Misc. Gr. I, Koli, Machhi-Kharwa and Bhangi. This arrangement finds support in the light of the present analysis, i.e., higher social groups being physically well placed and the lower classes physically handicapped. It may be presumed that among the lower classes strenuous physical labour probably due to the nature of their work, and malnutrition due to lack of means, adversely affect the body-build.

To sum up, we find on the basis of the mean values of weight and stature in various age groups, that Bhadela, Bhatia, Nagar Brahmin, Oswal Jain, Rajput, Luhana, Audich Brahmin and Kunbi Pattidar stand at one end of the racial ladder with Artisans, Machhi-Kharwa, Koli, Bhangi occupying the other extremity. The case of the Waghar (Hindus and Muslims) is different and distinct with respect to these two characters in all the age groups, and so their actual position is difficult to ascertain *vis a vis* other social groups. It is interesting to find however that the relative positions of the groups considered here, follow conclusions we have recorded regarding the various constellations with respect to their mean values in the Gujarat Racial Survey. We are continuing the correlation analysis, fitting of the straight lines, finding out the regression of weight on height which will enable us to standardise weights making allowance for difference in stature at various ages. Then the differences if any will be directly comparable. Here we have included only 15 groups out of the total of 24. In future along with this analysis we are considering all the 24 groups as was done in the analysis of the anthropometric data.

2

The efficiency of a nation depends largely on people's food. The diet taken all over the world contains (1) Carbo-hydrates (2) Fats, (3) Proteins, (4) Vitamins and small amounts of salts and water. The water is the principal constituent of the human body and it varies from 65 to 58 p.c. according to age, decreasing with old age. The intake of food is meant for growth and repair of the body and to provide the necessary heat units or calories that are required to keep the body warm and enable it to perform its function including locomotion and strenuous work in the mills and factories. The right quantity of calories and a proper balance between the various ingredients of food, such as protein, carbohydrates, fat, mineral salts and vitamins which are matters of concern to the nutrition worker, is also of paramount interest to the economist as on the basis of this, he has to estimate the food requirements of the people.

There is not much agreement about the minimum or the maximum amount of calories needed in India or in any other part of the world. There is certainly some difference in the necessary intake of calories in different countries, as the climatic conditions differ and the needs of a cold country are certainly greater than those one feels in a hot country. Sir Robert

Mac Carrison (Food, pp. 110-111) states that 2500 to 3500 calories according to the part of India where he lives, and to the work he has to do, are needed for an Indian man, and 80% of this is needed by a woman. Dr. Aykroid's inquiry shows that 2600 calories per day for males and 2,080 calories per day for females is necessary. The League of Nations Committee on Nutrition makes an allowance of 2400 calories per day as adequate to meet the requirements of a normal healthy adult male or female living an ordinary every day life in a temperate climate with addition of further supplementary quota of calories according to the nature of work.

Dr. Aykroid allows 10 p.c. reduction of this League of Nations model for India ; for he thinks, India is a warm country in which the diet is largely vegetarian. Dr. N. R. Dhar thinks that for a healthy person 2500 to 2800 calories in the form of food per day is necessary in our country. Sir Alfred Chatterton quoting medical opinion held that 15 calories per pound of body weight was needed to keep a man in normal health and if the average weight of the Indian is 120 lbs., the total calories required will be $120 \times 15 = 1800$ calories. Prof. Adarkar estimates the calorie requirement at 1800 calories but considering the warmth of the country and the hot sun, he thinks 1400 to 1600 calories per man per day is enough. The various estimates are largely due to the variable factors on which the calorie requirements have been assessed, viz., weight, stature, climate and so on, and if we agree about the factors determining the calorie needs, we should not be surprised at the various estimates given by competent scientists.

Calorie required is not a function of weight but the surface area of the body ; the ease with which tea in a saucer loses its heat compared to the time required for cooling tea in the tea cup, is a proof that more the surface area of the body the greater is the ease with which body heat can be lost, viz., the surplus heat which is not converted into energy for work. If that is so, the surface area is an important consideration, in the estimate of calorie needs. Environment is also an important factor, and therefore, the calorie needs should be a function of both surface area of the body and the climate.

A very useful formula for the determination of the surface area, based on height \times weight \times a constant has been worked out by Dr. D. Du-Bois. As a result of this work, it is common practice now to take as the fundamental unit the output per sq. meter of surface area.

The actual formula is given by the expression :

$$S = W^{0.425} \times H^{0.725} \times C$$

$$\log S = 0.425 \log W + 0.725 \log H + \log C$$

where S=Surface Area.

W=Weight in Kgms.

H=Height in cms.

C=Constant=0.00784

Basal Metabolism= $S \times 40$ Cal. per sq. m. of Surface Area.

Booth and Sandiford of the Mayo clinic prepared chart for computing the surface area of the body from height and weight. The values that are given below have been found out by placing the corresponding readings of weight and height on the chart and reading out the values of surface area as given in the foot-note.

We shall give an estimate of the surface area so that the basal metabolism as the minimum calorie requirements can be estimated from it. The basal metabolic rate is given by the expression, $S \times 40$ cal per hour where S is surface area per sq. meter.

As we are considering adults only i.e., individuals of 18 years and upto 48 years of age, our conclusions will be limited to this range only. There is an increase in Basal Metabolic Rate as we advance in age in all the social groups but beyond the age of 43 years as is given in the table, there is a decreasing tendency in the B. M. R. which is true as old people generally retire from active life. The rate of increase in the B. M. R. is more rapid in the first three age groups i.e., from 18 years to 33 years of age which is considered to be the most vital part of the whole life in all the fields. In the later and less active part of life, the rate remains more or less uniform and the intake of food is mostly utilised in maintaining the acquired state. It is also true that there is a slight decrease in the B. M. R. after the completion of puberty, which rises and is maintained afterwards. The racial classification on the basis of B. M. R. is attempted here though there is not much difference in the values of S. A. for different social groups at various age groups.

In the first age group the arrangement is as follows:—Bhatia, Oswal Jain, Nagar Brahmin, Rajput, Luhana, Bhadela, arranged in a descending order of S. A. having Kunbi Pattidar, Audich Brahmin, Artisans, Koli, Miscellaneous Group I, Machhi-Kharwa, Bhangi, at the other end. In the second age group—the relative position of the various social groups is with

the Bhatia, Bhadela, Luhana, coming at the top, Rajput, Oswal Jain, Nagar Brahmin, Audich Brahmin, Kunbi Pattidar as the intermediate groups and the Artisans, Koli, Miscellaneous Group I, Machhi-Kharwa and Bhangi occupying the lowest position.

In the 3rd age group also the arrangement remains practically the same with Bhatia, Bhadela, Luhana, coming at the top, Rajput, Oswal Jain, Nagar Brahmin, Audich Brahmin, Kunbi Pattidar, occupying the intermediate position with artisans, Koli, Miscellaneous Group I, Machhi-Kharwa, and Bhangi at the bottom.

In the 4th age group the arrangement is that the Bhadela, and Bhatia, come first; next to the above groups are Kunbi Pattidar, Luhana, Nagar Brahmin, Oswal Jain, Audich Brahmin, Rajput being last of these groups. The position of the artisans, Koli, Miscellaneous Group I, Machhi-Kharwa and Bhangi remains unchanged i.e. here also they come in the end.

In the 5th age group other groups behave in the same way, except that Kunbi Pattidar occupy the highest position here. As there was no individual in this age group of Bhadela, we could not consider them. Here also the artisans, Koli, Miscellaneous Group I, Machhi Kharwa, and Bhangi occupy the bottom position.

In the last age group the Bhatia, and the Bhadela remain where they were in the previous group, but the Bhangi have joined the Bhadela and the Bhatia. Bhangi have come with the Nagar Brahmin, Oswal Jain, Kunbi Pattidar, and the Luhana, have been displaced a little thus coming with Audich Brahmin and Rajput in the group arranged next to the above. Of course the artisans, Koli, Miscellaneous Group I, Machhi Kharwa remaining at the bottom.

On the basis of the classification of the social groups at various ages with respect to B. M. R. we find the Bhatia, the Bhadela and the Luhana come at the top, with Audich Brahmin, Nagar Brahmins, Oswal Jain, Rajput, Kudbi Pattidar occupying an intermediate status, while the Koli, artisans, Miscellaneous, Machhi-Kharwa, and Bhangi are at the bottom.

TABLE 1.

SHOWING THE NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS FALLING WITHIN AGE GROUP
(BY SOCIAL GROUPS)

Age Groups Social Groups	18-23 yrs	24-28 yrs	29-33 yrs	34-38 yrs	39-43 yrs	44-48 yrs	Total	Below 18 yrs	Above 48 yrs
*Nagar Brahmin	21	22	22	10	8	11	94	—	2
Audich Brahmin	28	20	21	14	7	7	97	—	1
Luhana	27	35	33	18	8	5	126	—	6
Rajput	10	19	24	12	16	10	91	—	10
Bhatia	5	7	3	6	4	4	29	—	—
Oswal Jani	3	14	27	42	6	7	99	—	1
Kunhi Pallidars	16	13	29	20	8	13	99	—	1
Artisans	34	20	25	17	17	7	120	—	6
Waghers (Hindus & Muslims)	8	37	45	18	3	4	115	—	2
Bhadela	3	11	19	15	—	3	51	—	—
†Misc Groups I	39	19	32	21	15	6	132	—	3
Koli	42	21	32	12	4	6	117	—	1
Machhi Kharva	10	18	42	16	14	14	114	1	18
Bhangi	11	8	11	5	2	3	40	1	2

* In 6 cases age was not given.

† In 5 cases age was not given.

TABLE 2, SHOWING THE SURFACE AREA IN SQ METERS

	1st age group	2nd age group	3rd age group	4th age group	5th age group	6th age group
1. Nagar Brahmin	1.47	1.45	1.53	1.54	1.61	1.58
2. Audich Brahmin	1.41	1.52	1.53	1.50	1.56	1.47
3. Luhana	1.45	1.57	1.59	1.54	1.57	1.48
4. Rajput	1.46	1.50	1.54	1.45	1.49	1.43
5. Bhatia	1.54	1.57	1.71	1.62	1.61	1.71
6. Oswal Jain	1.50	1.51	1.54	1.52	1.54	1.56
7. Kunbi Pattidar	1.41	1.48	1.51	1.56	1.70	1.57
8. Artisans	1.41	1.44	1.44	1.43	1.46	1.36
9. Bhadela	1.44	1.57	1.61	1.66	..	1.68
10. Misc. G. I.	1.37	1.40	1.43	1.39	1.42	1.40
11. Koli	1.36	1.43	1.45	1.42	1.41	1.41
12. Machhi Kharwa	1.40	1.42	1.47	1.35	1.45	1.40
13. Bhangi	1.30	1.33	1.32	1.41	1.36	1.56

TABLE 3, SHOWING THE B.M. RATE IN CAL PER SQ METER S. AREA FOR THE 15 SOCIAL GROUPS OF MAHA GUJARAT AT VARIOUS AGE GROUPS

Social groups	Age groups					
	18.5 23.5	23.5 28.5	28.5 33.5	33.5 38.5	38.5 43.5	43.5 48.5
1. Nagar Brahmin	58.8	58.0	61.2	61.6	64.4	63.2
2. Audich Brahmin	56.4	60.8	61.2	60.0	62.4	58.8
3. Luhana	58.0	62.8	63.6	61.6	62.8	59.2
4. Rajput	58.4	60.0	61.6	58.0	59.6	57.2
5. Bhatia	61.6	62.8	68.1	64.8	64.4	68.4
6. Oswal Jain.	60.0	60.4	61.6	60.8	61.6	62.4
7. Kunbi Pattidar	56.4	59.6	60.4	62.4	68.0	62.8
8. Artisans	56.4	57.6	57.6	57.2	58.4	54.4
9. Bhadela	57.6	62.8	64.4	66.4	..	67.2
10. Misc. G.I.	54.8	56.0	57.2	55.6	56.8	56.0
11. Koli	54.4	57.2	58.0	56.8	56.4	56.4
12. Machhi Kharva	56.0	56.8	58.8	54.0	58.0	56.0
13. Bhangi	52.0	53.2	52.8	56.4	54.4	62.4

TABLE 4, SHOWING THE B.M. RATE AMONGST ALL THE 24 GROUPS OF MAHA GUJARAT

	B.M.R. Cal/sq meter	Basal Cal Requirements
1. Bhatia	64.4	1545.6
2. Koli	56.8	1363.2
3. Artisan	57.2	1372.8
4. Bhil	56.0	..
5. Misc Group I	56.0	1344.0
6. Misc Group II	..	1344.0
7. Kunbi Pattidar	61.2	..
8. Sunni Bora	58.0	1468.8
9. Miana	64.0	1411.2
10. Mher	65.2	1536.0
11. Rajput	60.0	1564.8
12. Luhana	61.6	1440.0
13. Memon	61.6	1478.4
14. Khoja	62.4	1497.6
15. Bhangi	54.4	1305.6
16. Nagar Brahmin	58.4	1401.6
17. Bhadela	64.8	1555.2
18. Oswal Jain	61.6	1478.4
19. Machhi Kharwa	58.0	1392.0
20. Rabari	63.2	1516.0
21. Wagher	63.6	1526.4
22. Audich Brahmin	60.4	1449.6
23. Parsi	66.4	1593.6

TABLE—2 SHOWING THE MEAN VALUES OF STATURE AND WT OF 15 SOCIAL GROUPS OF CULTURAL GUJARAT AT VARIOUS AGE-GROUPS

Age Groups Social Group	Age groups											
	18-23			23-28			28-33			33-38		
	wt	Stature	wt	Stature	wt	Stature	wt	Stature	wt	Stature	wt	Stature
1. Nagar Brahmin	105.2	162.4	107.9	156.3	113.5	164.8	115.8	163.6	129.4	164.3	125.7	162.1
2. Audich Brahmin	98.1	162.2	112.3	165.2	110.9	166.7	107.1	164.8	121.4	163.4	106.8	161.1
3. Luhana	100.7	164.3	117.1	166.1	122.5	165.4	115.1	163.5	122.8	163.2	108.0	161.5
4. Rajput	103.7	163.4	108.0	164.7	112.1	165.7	105.3	160.2	105.0	165.5	98.5	163.3
5. Bhatia	114.6	164.4	117.3	166.3	145.3	166.0	132.8	163.5	121.2	169.6	151.2	164.4
6. Oswal jain	108.6	164.6	111.7	163.0	114.9	165.1	112.6	164.2	116.3	163.3	120.8	163.9
7. Kumbi Pattidar	96.6	162.0	107.9	164.5	109.5	164.9	118.4	164.2	143.1	165.4	120.4	164.7
8. Artisan	97.4	161.6	102.8	160.6	99.8	162.0	101.8	160.7	104.8	163.4	96.5	155.3
9. Wagher Hindu	144.0	170.2	123.0	169.5	118.6	167.7	122.7	168.7	125.3	171.7	119.2	167.7
10. Wagher Muslim	108.5	160.3	117.2	167.4	119.2	169.9	109.0	162.8	..	..	..	..
11. Bhadela	101.6	163.0	118.4	165.7	126.8	166.1	139.6	165.0	..	..	140.0	166.8
13. Misc. Group I.	90.7	158.4	96.9	160.5	100.4	162.3	96.4	159.8	100.6	161.6	96.8	161.1
13. Koli	93.4	158.8	99.5	162.5	101.5	162.9	100.6	159.6	98.0	160.3	96.8	160.3
14. Machhi Kharwa	97.0	158.9	99.1	161.0	108.4	160.4	100.4	149.9	104.3	159.8	107.2	161.9
15. Bhangri	83.0	157.5	95.8	161.4	87.6	157.0	98.6	161.5	98.0	155.2	110.3	171.0

RESEARCH PROJECTS RECOMMENDED BY THE COMMITTEE ON ASIAN ANTHROPOLOGY, NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL, U.S.A.

INTRODUCTION

The following problems have been formulated by the National Research Council's Committee on Asian Anthropology for the guidance of foundations, research councils, universities and individual scholars in planning and coordinating their research programs in the Asian area. As a point of departure, members of the committee prepared lists of projects primarily for their areas of specialization, but it was soon apparent that the problems involved were markedly similar. It was decided therefore to group the listed projects by types of problems. Those dealing with technology, physical anthropology and archaeology have been omitted because they are assumed to be a basic resource of all anthropological work.

The area specialists in reviewing a preliminary draft of this memorandum have criticized the failure to state specific projects under each problem. However, it was deemed necessary to keep the statement brief and to allow as much latitude as possible for scholars to phrase projects in forms feasible for them and their institutions. Furthermore, the Committee realized that it had contemplated problems far wider than those encompassed by the customary field of anthropology. Rather than retreat from its problems, it seemed desirable to phrase them broadly so that the other social sciences, the humanities and the biologic sciences might be tempted to participate, since anthropologists have learned in recent years to envision their research in terms of joint investigations with scientists in other fields.

Other considerations have entered into framing this memorandum. These include political feasibility of work in the designated area, urgency of the problem, and availability of research personnel.

It has also been suggested that it might be desirable to indicate priorities among problems in terms of "action orientation," strategic significance and extension of knowledge. However, it has been assumed for purposes of this paper that a significant

extension of knowledge and the development of present techniques of investigation are the prime concerns of social scientists so long as they are not marshalled for a national emergency and that their areas of curiosity serve the greatest long run interests of the nations.

Lastly, it must be emphasized that the scope of most of the suggested types of problems are such that they can be effectively executed only through close collaboration among variously trained specialists and that they would require exceptional personnel and financial resources. It is recognized that a beginning will be made on these problems with less than optimum resources.

1: FIELD PROBLEMS

A. Community Studies

These studies should be directed both to urban and rural communities and to the interplay between such communities. Most effectively such studies would deal with an urban (or provincial) center and the tributary rural area. Ideally they should be undertaken by teams of research people representing various disciplines ranging from medicine, demography and ecology to psychology. Every team should include a linguistically competent person and all members of the team should acquire, as far as possible, preliminary familiarity with the local language. The use and training of local students also should be stressed in any such undertaking.

In the following projects the same strictures concerning qualifications and personnel apply to greater or lesser degrees. Further, these studies should devote themselves as nearly as possible to communities typical of the area rather than aberrant or marginal to it.

The object of such studies would be to identify the major cultural forces in the communities. This would require temporal and spatial explorations of traditional factors as well as of "recent" factors. The final result of such studies would presumably avoid a compilation of disparate descriptive studies by the contributing specialists. Instead, the dynamic themes (*formative forces*) of each community would determine the organization of reports. Failing the discovery of such "themes," common problems such as those of "contact" might serve to center research projects.

In both China and India a considerable number of communi-

ty studies are available. They employ, however, a variety of approaches and are of varied worth. Before further extensive community research in these two countries is undertaken, a definitive review and appraisal of work so far available should be encouraged.

On the other hand, community studies in Japan, the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaya, Indochina, Siam, and Burma are rare or non-existent. They are also urgently needed if those cultures are to be understood and taught adequately in the United States.

B. Changing Aspects of National Structure

This type of problem is closely allied to the foregoing category. The chief goal of such studies would be to gauge the importance and direction of social changes associated with the appearance of new social groups. More specifically, projects would involve studies of the rise of new class systems, including social, industrial, labor, youth and ethnic groups in relation to traditional group adjustments and to the bearing of these new groupings on political and economic problems of the area. The Committee is of the opinion that studies on the effects of increasing urbanization as well as the absorption of minorities are of major importance. For example, industrialism is a question which may be approached from the background of many fields but whatever the point of departure it is important to understand the traditional versus the new role of labor as well as the new role of management and capital investment in both their traditional and changing aspects. Similarly, the growth of new bureaucratic, military, capitalist, and intellectual groups are of equal importance in some areas of the Far East. Also, the rationale of the new Indian political amalgamations and their impact on the total structure of Indian life are of immediate significance. Obviously any project would have to limit itself to a particular area of amalgamation. The role of intrusive groups like the European, Chinese, and Indian minorities would also fall into the scope of this general type of problem.

In this range of problems the persistence of colonial impositions should not be neglected. For example the Spanish class structure in the Philippines persists to the present and deeply affects the base line from which national structure will develop.

The urgency of this problem is greatest where the growth of new and influential groupings has developed farthest and yet has been largely neglected, namely India, China, and Japan. However, to understand the full range of current re-adaptations

of Asiatic cultures such problems should be undertaken in all stages of their development, from the nascent aspects in countries like Burma and Siam to the more fully developed aspects found in Japan, India, and China.

C. Population Shifts

Again, this problem stems logically from the two foregoing problems. Changes in the size and/or location of population groups may be the key to other culture changes suggested in this paper. They will need to be studied in all their aspects among which the economic will be highly important. Questions of health may prove significant and should not be forgotten. Projects along these lines can be envisaged as ranging from some with wide socio-political implications like the displacement of the Hindu and Moslem population in the tribal disturbances in Kashmir to less explosive ones like the drift of Annamese populations westward and southward in the Indochinese peninsula. Philippine experiments in resettlement in Mindanao or similar Dutch experiments in Indonesia are worth extensive study in the effectiveness of conscious and planned reform. A definitive and highly instructive study of the influence of the Chinese population shift to the west and back again as the result of the recent war in the Far East deserves attention. The Japanese deportation of labor groups during the war, like that of the Javanese into Malaya, must have repercussions of considerable importance.

D. Land Utilization

Since land is a focal aspect in many of Asia's problems, changes in patterns of land as value, as status and as livelihood are important. The use and availability of land are equally important in terms of world economic and social potentialities although these questions are not within the technological purview of anthropologists. The introduction of money and the demands of a world market are vital questions the social scientists, both theoretic and applied, must answer. This question is closely allied to that in "Population Shifts" but can be and should be studied in its manifold aspects if an understanding of the Far East is to be advanced.

E. Influence of the Central Government on Rural Life

This problem is basic to an understanding of new forces in Far Eastern social life. It is closely allied with new develop-

ments in national selfconsciousness. In a country like China the differences of this impact in Kuomintang and Communist areas would be difficult to undertake at present but would be of particular interest. The success or failure of many new programs for national unification, economic planning or the depth of nationalism as a social force in Asiatic countries will depend largely on the nature of the impact of the central government on the masses of the population. Although this problem is recognizably allied to "Changing aspects of National Structure" it may be desirable to phrase it separately to meet the projects which may be submitted by disciplines other than anthropology.

F. Personality Structure (Norms)

A basic factor in estimating the direction of social change in an area is the personality structure dominant in it. With the exception of a little preliminary work on the Japanese, Chinese, Siamese, and Burmese personality structures (which needs expansion and refinement), this field is encumbered with stereotyped judgments that obscure rather than illuminate the important area of psycho-cultural relationships. Once launched, such studies are susceptible to infinite refinements based on class, regional and ethnic groupings. Any projects along these lines, however limited may be useful if only for comparative purposes. It is probable that such studies might be most profitably pursued as a part of studies in national integration suggested under "B" or as studies suggested in community organization under "A". Nevertheless, they are so important that they deserve special underlining in this listing of problems.

G. Value System

Since consciously held and unconsciously operative values are among the most active social forces, any project which suggests comparative analyses of religion, philosophy or ethics may be of importance. Only through an understanding of such beliefs explicit and implicit, may it be possible to formulate bases for the understanding of integrative forces within any one community and at arriving at bases for universal accord. The assistance which historians, humanists and philosophers can render psychologists and anthropologists in such studies calls for collaboration between such specialists to explore properly such problems.

It is recognized that there may be a wide area of overlap but not of identity between problems suggested in Paragraphs F

and G. The former involves psychological techniques; the latter will utilize social techniques and presumably an easy translation of generalizations from the latter to the former will be eschewed.

II. LIBRARY STUDIES

The problems suggested in this series may frequently depend upon the completion of field work suggested in the foregoing series. Nevertheless much might be done by the various Area Institutes already established in universities to coordinate and systematize literature on given regions. Foundations and councils might profitably explore the feasibility of establishing in given Area Institutes area files patterned after the cross-cultural survey files begun at Yale. Such area files would not only be invaluable reference sources but would afford excellent training devices for undergraduate and graduate students.

A. *Distribution Studies*

Nowhere in Asia have adequate data of geographical occurrence and distribution of cultural features been accumulated. Local variations on known features—whether linguistic, familial, governmental, technological, or ideational—are recognized but only spottily and haphazardly observed and recorded. It is recognized that all field researches can be planned so as to reduce the area of ignorance by provision of accurate data contributory to large-scale mapping of the distribution and variations in cultural features, populations, bodily types and racial characteristics, and dialects. Investigators actually in the field can provide useful data on the presence or absence of cultural items in the localities they visit. Without undue strain upon their time and resources their records can facilitate reliable mapping of cultural areas. The value and meaningfulness of every special investigation is enhanced by knowledge of the areal context in which local phenomena occur.

The characteristics and boundaries of the many sub-cultures of India, for example, have never been clearly described. China and Indonesia also have complex and diverse sub-cultures within their national boundaries which deserve close definition. Similarly, it may be possible from the literature alone to throw light on the source of friction between political minorities and majorities. The Karen in Burma is a case in point. Indochina should provide analogous cases. In fact, there is scarcely a

country in the Far East in which this question does not arise. Unfortunately, the literature in most cases is at present not complete enough to permit adequate study of this problem. However, such library work as is possible should be encouraged for each country in order to define the lacunae and guide further field research.

B. Social Implications of Language Changes and Reforms

The implications of this problem are particularly marked in China and Indochina. However, the same question in Indonesia also deserves some attention. The linguistic problems facing India and Pakistan also lie in this general problem sphere. A brief examination of the experience with Tagalog as a national language in the Philippines might help to throw light on this question as it arises in other Southeast Asiatic nations. Although this question is raised in conjunction with "library" work, there is little doubt that a vast amount of field research is also involved and should be encouraged.

C. Translations

All *specialists* in the Far Eastern field recognize the need for making available in English basic source materials, particularly in the more difficult Oriental languages. The presence or absence in specific localities of major cultural features might well receive attention as essential to Distribution studies. This field would lend itself particularly to collaboration between American and foreign scholars. Some scholars have recommended translations of Chinese local histories, gazetteers; other scholars have felt the importance of Japanese studies of local variations in dialect, folklore) technology, economic and community organization; also Japanese studies of local variations in dialect, folklore, technology, economic and community organization; also Japanese studies where they are of worth on China and Japan. However, such projects should involve the type of careful selection only broad and well-grounded scholars can provide.

D. Concordances and Abstracts

Concordances would involve compiling annotated guides to the foreign language literature covering the areas of interest to anthropologists in particular as well as to social scientists in general. Abstracts of books and articles currently appearing in Asiatic countries might be established as a collaborative effort

between scholars in Far Eastern countries and American journals devoted to Far Eastern affairs.

E. Encyclopedia and Handbooks

As materials accumulate national encyclopedias should be prepared. Series of volumes on China, Japan, Indonesia and India would be feasible at the present time and should be encouraged by boards of competent scholars in these fields. Obviously such studies should be undertaken only after a thorough exploration of classified and unclassified materials of a comparable nature have been examined both in the US and abroad. In many cases encyclopedias would involve translations and modernizing existing sources. In the case of handbooks projects should be undertaken only where gaps are known to exist in our present facilities.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS

That couvade is but a part of a unified world view as it regards the interaction of the spiritual realm and the every day life of man and of the relations between husband and wife, between father, mother and child, is the conclusion gathered from the material presented by Prof. Rye Welho of the North Western University, Evanston, Illinois, among the Black Karibs of the Republic of Honduras. Couvade among these people is a fully functioning institution. After a child is born, the father must never engage in strenuous muscular effort until the naval cord of the infant dies and falls off, otherwise dire consequences follow. The Black Karibs believe in spirits and plurality of souls. At the moment of birth, the infant is believed to possess one or two souls, but it gets its third soul 'afurugu' related to its father's side, only after its naval cord falls off. At this juncture, both the father and child are believed to be in a dangerous condition, and moreover, he is considered to be an 'evil eye' and must not look at any baby for long time.

These people do not believe in the inherent debility of women in connection with child birth but take the coming of a new child to be a trying situation for both parents, a heavier burden for the father, hence the taboos on him, so that the function of couvade seems to be to provide a buffer which absorbs the shock and emotional agitation inherent in a delicate transitional situation.

"The Significance of the Couvade among the Black Karibs" by Rye Welho, Man, Vol., XLIX, May, 1949.

* * * * *

In an article on "The Nuer Col Wie" Prof. E. E. Evans Pitchard of the Oxford University describes a strange belief and an equally strange ritual associated with it among the Nuer of the Nilotic Sudan; a person killed by lightening or whirl-wind or storm is referred as a sacred spirit of his or her lineage. Such persons are worshipped, sacrifices are made to them, cattle dedicated and shrines erected in their honour. The Nuer fear lightening and throw pieces of tobacco from their door-ways into the storm, uttering prayers to pacify the raging god; yet when a person is killed by the lightning, they accept it, but in a spirit of resignation, "for God has struck him and God would be angry were they to grieve too much for some-one whom He has taken away."

After a few days, beer is prepared on ritually made fire and is offered to the departed soul, a tree is planted which is held sacred and must not be cut, a procession is taken out followed by a sacrifice of oxen, goats, sheep and rams. Sacrifices and feasts continue for several days. A speciality of the sacrifice is that animals are not sac-

rified entire. After the feasts are over, prayers are offered to the 'Col Wie,' the personal belongings of the dead are also tied to the stake and offered to it, and thus ends the ritual mourning.

Man, January, 1949.

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Ancient India No 4 (July 1947—January, 1948) contains a detailed report by Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler on excavations carried out at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli (Mysore State) in March, April and May, 1947, by the Archaeological Survey of India. The excavations were undertaken as a part of a coordinated plan for opening up the archaeology of South India. As a result of the excavations, several megalithic tombs were unearthed—both cist-circles and pit-circles. These tombs contained heaps of funeral pottery nicely polished, polished stone-axes (forty-four in number), one hundred and two microtliths (which suggests the presence of a well developed micro-lithic industry at these sites), flakes and blades, saddle—quern, rubbers and balls, discs and other spherical and cylindrical stone objects, iron knives and daggers, blades, chisels, sickles, lances, swords, arrow-heads and nails. One of the pit—circles disclosed four plain copper bangles and many more of shell, clay, bone and glass, bronze and gold. Beads of many types, variously designed, were also found besides some gold coins from the Chandravalli site.

It has been inferred that a majority of these megalithic tombs belong to the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C. The presence of iron objects suggests the intrusion of an Iron Age culture (megalithic) into the Deccan plateau upon primitive stone using culture. A clear succession of three main cultures has been suggested and a fixed point established in the chronology of the megalithic tombs which are characteristic of South India, and may possibly have a significant relationship with similar tombs as far afield as Western Asia and Europe.

* * * * *

All over South India, more especially in the north-western region, are found stone-pillars, some bearing inscriptions and some not, which "range from the earliest time to the latest". These stone-pillars, it is thought, were erected as memorials to heroes (and heroines), and Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan has named them as "hero stones". In his article on "Hero Stones" in the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Vol. XXXVIII(N.S.) No. 3, January, 1948, pp.128-138, he writes that the legends behind the 'hero stones' and the procedures adopted in planting them are described at length in many ancient Tamil works. Puram 264 of Purananure, a Tamil poetic work of great repute, describing the procedure of the planting of hero-stones says, "along with wreaths made of 'Maral' flowers, they put on the fine feathers of the peacocks on the stone image of the hero and engrave his name and plant it on a raised platform made by gathering and heaping small pieces of stone".

Cantos 25-28 of S'Ilappadigaram, another famous Tamil work, give the story of a merchant-prince who was wrongfully murdered by the King of Madura, and of his virtuous wife who became "sati" after her lord; a hero stone was raised in her honour and she was given divine status in the country.

References to hero-stones are also found in other Tamil poems such as Purapporul-venbamalai and others. Men who acquired fame by their bravery, valour, generosity, kindness and similar noble qualities, who fought and fell on the field in defence of cows, country and religion, who gave gifts to minstrels, poets and experts in fine arts, who displayed kind feelings towards the fair sex, and rulers who had wielded their sceptres righteously so as to be extolled by those that were experts in ethics, were commemorated by the installation of 'hero stones' in their honour after "death took away the life of the befitting person, regardless of his noble qualities."

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The University of New Mexico has recently published a report by Mr. R. H. Lister on the excavations at Cojumatlan, Michoacan, conducted by Dr. Donald D. Brand and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The excavation work was meant to reveal the Tarascan culture and to locate a possible migration-route from the central Mexican highlands to the north-western coast of Mexico. The findings include ceramics, polychrome wares, trade wares, vessels and pottery, toys, ornaments made of clay, shell and bone, human effigies, seals, figurines, spindle-whorls, musical instruments and numerous objects of metals (iron and copper), stone, shell, bone and horn. In addition to these, traces of houses have been found in "fragments of burned mud with red casts" and seventeen fragmentary skeletons in burial have been discovered, one case showing features of "multiple burial".

On the basis of the findings, the author has postulated the cultural life of the people who inhabited the Conjumatlan sites. The inferences are that the culture discovered, dates to 1100-1300 A.D. and belongs to a people with strong Mazapan affiliations. They seem to have a well-developed knowledge of hoe-culture, pottery making and to possess a "religious complex expressed materially by the manufacture of clay figurines representing certain deities." Numerous stone implements such as flake-blades, projectile points, scrapers, drill and discs, shell ornaments, and harpoons, needles and awls made of bone and horn found at different levels show the cultural and technical advancements of these people. Their aesthetic sense is evident from the presence of musical instruments and designs imprinted on clay models and pottery. "The abundance of spindle-whorls and their occurrence in all levels" besides "a small textile impression on a piece of hard mud" are evidence for spinning and weaving of cloth, and the presence of needles shows that the garments must have been sewed. Burial was known to them and they placed their dead in the "pre-natal" flexed position in the

grave ; the personal belongings of the dead were also buried with the bodies.

Further, the presence of metal objects and polychrome suggests the intrusion of an advanced culture from the south, probably from Pueblo and Northern Oaxaca.. It seems that the site was abandoned perhaps due to pressure from other groups.

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In another paper published by the University of New Mexico, Prof. Norman E. Gable has given results of a physical survey among the Papago Indians and has compared the Papago physical traits with those of Yaqui, Zuni, Hopi and Navaho, all these tribes living in the Southwestern area. There is relatively high variability of some of these physical attributes and the reasons given by the author for this is "mixed ancestry", the presence of more than one physical type in the Indian make-up. Archæology of the region confirms this ; "there are several instances of dolichocephaly stratigraphically underlying brachycephaly".

The Papago are the heaviest and the tallest of the tribes considered in the detailed comparisons of anthropometric data. They exceed in shoulder-breadth and chest diameters; they have longer faces and longer noses, the nose shares a high bridge and convex profile with the other tribes, but it is commonly broader across the bridge and more thickened at the tip, nasal wings are apparently flaring. The forehead is somewhat sloping ; brow-ridges are not pronounced. These people are significantly longer-headed. The skin colour of the Papago is darker, somewhat chocolate, although they share this trait with their Yaqui neighbours. They have straight, black, coarse hair, moderately thick on the head, face hair is sparse and body-hair almost absent. External eye-folds are more frequently developed and the opening of the eye is not as wide as among most Europeans. They have well-developed thick lips in contrast with those in Zuni, Hopi and Navaho. These characters, combined with some alveolar prognathism and a tendency to smaller chins, results in the typical Papago face. There are also some variations of the external ear that mark the Papago ; ears are longer and the lobes are more often attached. There is an uncommonly high frequency of moles among these people.

Comparatively speaking, there is a significant increase in non-Mongoloid traits as one proceeds from Pueblo country through Papagueria to the home of the Yaqui in the extreme south. It has been inferred that the Southwest was first peopled by a gathering and hunting population, who, in appearance, were not as Mongoloid as their successors. Later, there were infiltrations of more Mongoloid peoples who gradually dominated the earlier physical type. The habitat of Papago was less affected by this intrusion because of its inhospitable nature—a feature that has preserved Papagueria against white aggression even to this day. Therefore, the Papago represent

a closer approximation to the earliest people in the Southwest than do the generality of its inhabitants.

A Comparative Racial Study of the Papago by N. E. Gabel, University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology, No. 4.

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As a result of an agreement concluded between U.N.E.S.C.O. and the C.I.A.P., the latter has been charged with drawing up a world catalogue of the recordings which exist in the field of ethnological and folk music. With this in view C.I.A.P. proposes to draw up special catalogues devoted to each of the institutions or collections which possess such recordings. It aims, in this way, to place an international instrument of research in the hands of those interested, giving them a clear idea both of existing riches and of the shortcomings which require to be remedied in the field of folk music recordings to facilitate the comparative studies of specialists and the diffusion of folk melodies among the general public as well as international exchanges. These catalogues may subsequently be grouped according to countries, categories, etc. Each recording will form the subject of a notice giving the following information :

A. INTRODUCTION : General remarks on the ethnological and folk music of the country listed in the inventory and the Institutions and Societies responsible for drawing it up, with additional notes on existing cylinder recordings (total number, types, characteristics).

B. SPECIFICATION OF RECORDINGS : 1) Geographical data : region, province, town village, etc. ; 2) Ethnic and linguistic group ; 3) Instrumental or vocal music (solos or ensembles. Nomenclature of the instruments) ; 4) Genre (ritual, ceremonial, festive, dance music, etc.). Title : opening words of the songs (in Roman characters) ; 5) Executants : name, sex, age, religion, level of education, vocation, social status ; 6) Place and date of the recording. Scientific supervision ; 7) Technical process: record, sound film, magnetic strip or wire, etc. Format and speed of rotation; 8) Number of the recording ; 9) Number of the negative (matrix or film). Present location. State of preservation and scientific value. 10) Producer (name and address).

The catalogue will comprise the recordings which have been made, or those of which the original has been preserved, by the institutions or collections listed in the inventory, to the exclusion of recordings of foreign origin. The latter will find a place in the catalogues dealing with the institutions which have carried them out. Exceptions may, however, be made for rare or unique recordings of foreign origin which, owing to special circumstances, are to be found in certain collections. For electrical recordings not made on discs but by other processes, such as film, wire, paper strip similar information to that above, *mutatis mutandis*, will be given. The languages used in these catalogues will be either French or English, it being understood that the titles of the items may be kept (in Roman characters) in the original

language on condition that they be followed by a translation in either of the two languages mentioned. In order to facilitate editing and to avoid having to repeat the headings of the questions for each item, it has been decided that the information concerning each recording should be given in the form of a continuous text describing the recording in question while taking into account the different points of the questionnaire. Each catalogue will be preceded by an introduction containing general remarks on the collections inventoried and information on the types of music represented. As music recorded on wax cylinders does not require such detailed references, it will suffice to indicate in the introduction the origin and type of the documents existing in each collection, with the number of cylinders of which each group consists.

INTERNATIONAL DIRECTORY OF COLLECTIONS OF ETHNOLOGICAL AND FOLK MUSIC

Before the war, the C.I.A.P. compiled and published an international directory of folk music collections, containing a list of existing reference centres and a series of notes on the progress made by different countries in the field of research. This directory, completed by a bibliography and the names and addresses of specialists, appeared in two volumes, the first in 1934, the second in 1939, both in French (Vol. I. *Musique et Chanson Populaires*, Vol. II *Folklore Musical*). Thirty national collections and four international collections were covered, the countries chosen being; Australia(South), Austria, Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dutch East Indies, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxemburg, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Rumania, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, United States and Yugoslavia, for the national collections, and Austria (*Phonogram-marchiv* at the Academy of Science, Vienna), France (*Phonothèque Nationale*) and Germany (*Phonogram-marchiv*, Berlin, and the Institute of Phonetic Research at the University of Berlin) for the international collections. A series of supplementary notes in Vol. II deal with the following eight countries: Belgium, Dutch East Indies, Estonia, Finland, Great Britain, Italy, Luxemburg and Rumania. The outbreak of war prevented the C.I.A.P. from publishing Vol. III. which was to have covered the collections of countries not yet inventoried. It is now planning to prepare this third volume, which will also contain information on certain collections destroyed or damaged during the war. It will be recalled that this directory was based on the replies which interested institutions made to a questionnaire addressed to them. Various alterations have been made in this questionnaire and the new circular reads as follows:

DIRECTIVES I. Draw up a list of museums, libraries and other official or private institutions or collections possessing recordings of ethnological or folk music and of the works, catalogues,

book reviews, manuscripts, etc., dealing with this subject.—II. Indicate for each of these institutions or collections the field of its scientific researches and the geographical regions in which they are carried out.—III. Indicate for each collection the recordings carried out by phonograph, gramophone, sound film etc. What is the total number of cylinders, records, films, etc.? What is their division into ethnic and linguistic groups? What is the number of those which have been carried out by specialists according to scientific methods? The number of those which have been recorded on the spot and the number of those recorded in studies under scientific supervision? What is the number of cylinders, records or films which have been transcribed by musicologists (in the usual notation)?—IV. Indicate the collections of music noted by specialists and not recorded by mechanical processes. What is the number of melodies noted on the spot? in an institution?—V. Draw up a list of publications of melodies, *a*) recorded *b*) noted by year. Indicate the publications *a*) of non-harmonised melodies *b*) of melodies which are harmonised correctly noted (without alteration) and thereby retain a scientific value.—VI. Draw up a bibliography of important works dealing with *a*) the theory, methodology, classification and organisation of the collections; *b*) history, geography, ethnology and folklore in which music and dance are mentioned.—VII. Draw up a list (names and addresses) of specialists.

It should be noted that the Directory must not be confused with the catalogue properly so called of ethnological and folk music recordings mentioned elsewhere in this *Bulletin*. The catalogue will enumerate and describe all existing recordings, whereas the Directory confines itself to giving a general idea of the type and content of the collections, supplemented by bibliographical references. Though complementary, each of the two publications has a distinct purpose. All interested institutions not yet listed, as well as those which, though included in our previous volumes, may wish to furnish additional particulars or details regarding changes which their collections have undergone since 1939 are invited to communicate with the Secretariat of the C.I.A.P.

K. S. M AND M

REVIEWS

ANTHROPOMETRIC SURVEY OF THE UNITED PROVINCES, 1941, A STATISTICAL STUDY by P. C. Mahalanobis, D. N. Majumdar and C. R. Rao. *Sankhya*, the Indian Journal of Statistics, Vol. 9. Parts 2 and 3. March, 1949 (with a Foreword by M. W. M. Yeatts).

An anthropometric and serological Survey of the people of the United Provinces was undertaken in 1941 at the instance of Mr. M. W. M. Yeatts, the Census Commissioner of India, and Mr. B. Sahay, Superintendent, census operations, U.P. (1941) and conducted under the supervision of Dr. D. N. Majumdar of Lucknow University. The work under review is a composite paper by three persons, D. N. Majumdar and two statisticians. D. N. Majumdar gives in Part I of the paper a general account of the field survey which was personally conducted by him in connexion with the population census in India in 1941. He also gives a description of the definitions and technique used by him. The present material consists of measurements of about 12 characters for 2836 individuals belonging to 22 castes and tribes of the U.P. In the words of Prof. Mahalanobis, the present measurements constitute one of the largest series of individual measurements in India taken by any single observer and thus supply valuable material for statistical purposes. This is why the individual measurements have been published in full at the end of this paper.

Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis and Dr. C. R. Rao have explained the basic concept of D^2 statistics, caste or tribal distance as they call it or a measure of generalised distance between two social groups, based on the mean values of the physical characters. They have discussed the problem of classification, relative importance of the characters, correlation between the characters and various other aspects in a very popular style which is of great interest to the anthropologist and others interested in the field.

Testing the normality of the distribution for all the twelve characters in various social groups, they have found that the distribution was normal or symmetrical with a very few exceptions showing thereby the unbiased technique of selection of the field investigator, Dr. D. N. Majumdar.

Prof. Mahalanobis remarks 'Dr. Majumdar was fully aware of the need of selecting the individuals at random, and he took particular care to eliminate all choice on his own part. The present samples may therefore be treated as having been drawn, for all practical purposes, at random' (p. 117.) He has also found out the five social groups, p. 13. Artisans, Bhatias, Chattri, Korwa, and Kharwar that may be reasonably considered to be largely responsible for the deviation from normality, wherever, it occurs.

Homoscedasticity of the data was tested and the dispersion of all the characters was found roughly of the same order for different groups. The homogeneity of the whole material and uniformity in the technique of measurements was supported by the fact that the order of correlation between two characters was found to be of the same order for all the social groups, when put to statistical tests.

The difficulty in selecting the characters that jointly can discriminate the social groups best, was solved mathematically and it was found that the discriminating capacity of the character differs from cluster to cluster, and so naturally the characters common in all the clusters are to be selected. It is interesting to note that with the addition of the correlated characters there is a decrease in the divergence pattern. Taking the above points in view it was finally decided to take up head length, head breadth, frontal breadth, bizygomatic breadth, nasal length, nasal breadth, nasal depth, stature and sitting height, for the classification of the groups. It is important to mention here that with the increase in the number of the discriminating characters, there is corresponding huge increase in the computational labour for the calculation of D^2 Statistics, and there is a limit beyond which the number of characters should not increase otherwise analysis becomes impossible with the present calculating machines available. Even on these nine characters analysis was impossible in India, and Dr. C. R. Rao had to take the material to Cambridge where a powerful mechanical computing equipment was available and he did the whole thing with the use of Mallocks Machine housed in the Mathematical Laboratory. The analysis of the material, after passing through various stages of calculation and tests, reached the final stage when D^2 statistics or the square of the generalised distance was calculated considering all the nine characters mentioned above. These values of D^2 were put to the test of significance. In the present case it was found that all the 231 values of D^2 are significant except 3 which were not significant. The two Brahmin groups, Basti, and others, are not significantly differentiated. The Artisans and Kahar, are not significantly different from the Ahirs and the Kurmis. The non-significance of these three values of D^2 does not prove that the samples are drawn from the same population, but does show that, in the characters used for calculating D^2 , the differences between these groups are too small to be detected by the samples of the present size. The groups are likely to be differentiated if the size of the samples is sufficiently increased. Groups for which the values of D^2 are not significant may, however, be treated as being closely associated.

At this stage the whole classification was divided into two main clusters such that the groups within any cluster are close together i.e., have a smaller D^2 among themselves than those belonging to two different clusters.

Thus it is seen that all the 22 groups can be divided into two clusters: 1. Tribal, 2. General with Chamar and Tharu forming bor-

der line cases. The members of the tribal cluster viz., Chero, Majhi, Panika, Kharwar, Oraon, Rajwar, and Korwa, are sharply differentiated from the rest, with the generalised distance between any two of them being in general less than that between a member of this cluster and any other groups.

The internal patterning of the General Cluster is that the two types of Brahmins cluster together so also the four artisan castes, Ahir, Kurmi, other Artisan and Kahar; Bhatu and Habura go together with Habura nearer the Brahmin and artisans and Bhatu far removed from them; Bhil and Dom are rather close and so also are Muslim and Chattri. Tharu occupies a distinct position in between the two main clusters: Chamar also occupies a distinct position far removed from the Brahmin, Bhatu, Habura and Tharu but closer to the rest of the members of the General Cluster.

Broadly speaking the above classification can be put under the following heads:

1. There are two distinct clusters, one comprising the tribal groups and the other general.
2. Tharu and Chamar form border line cases. Tharu nearer to tribal cluster, Chamar being nearer to the General Cluster.
3. The internal patterning in the General cluster is a bit complicated. The Artisans, and the Brahmins form distinct clusters, Chattri and Muslim, Bhil and Dom; Bhatu and Habura are somewhat similar. Agharia occupies a central position in the General Cluster.

The intra-cluster study will be important in the sense that it would tell more about the physical features of the groups forming a cluster or sub-cluster. The mathematical technique applied in this study is known as the normalised deviations of the mean. Cluster by cluster discussion is given in the following:—

1. *Brahmin Groups*:—The two types of Brahmins, Eastern and Western are close together except in nasal depth and total facial length. Basti Brahmin are better developed than western Brahmin.

2. *Muslim and Chattri*:—These two groups are close to one another, but the latter has larger measurements. Muslim is significantly different from Chattri in nasal length and head length.

The internal patterning of the General Cluster is that the two types of Brahmins cluster together so also the four artisan classes, Ahir, Kurmi, other Artisan and Kahars; Bhatu and Habura go together with Habura nearer the Brahmin and Artisans, and Bhatu far removed from them; Bhil and Dom are rather close and so also are Muslim and Chattri. Tharu occupies a distinct position. In fact the Tharu occupies an intermediate position between the two main clusters: Chamar also occupies a distinct position far removed from the Brahmin, Bhatu, Habura, and Tharu but closer to the rest of the members of the General Cluster.

Broadly speaking the above classification can be put under the following heads:—

1. There are two distinct clusters one comprising the tribal groups and the other general
2. Tharu and Chamar form border line cases. Tharu are nearer to the tribal cluster, Chamar being nearer to the General Cluster.
3. *Artisans*:—There are four artisan groups, Ahir, Kurmi, other artisans, and Kahar. All of them are close to one another, Ahir, Kurmi and other Artisans do not differ significantly from the rest of the artisan groups in their sitting height.

4. *Chamar*:—Chamar is clearly differentiated from the tribes in having larger body and nasal measurements. With respect to all the characters the Chamar has smaller values than the artisans.

5. *Bhatu and Habura*—Bhatu and Habura resemble each other in having a small head length and a low frontal breadth which distinguishes them from all the other castes and tribes. Habura has larger body characters and Bhatu larger nasal characters. Significant differences occur in nasal depth, nasal length, bizygomatic breadth, upper face length, and total face length.

It is interesting to note that Habura resembles 'other Brahmins' in body and nasal characters, but is clearly differentiated in head length, frontal breadth, bizygomatic breadth and head breadth. The D^2 values clearly differentiate the Bhatu-Habura cluster from the Brahmin cluster.

6. *Bhil and Dom*:—Bhil and Dom are clearly differentiated and differ significantly in stature, head length, upper face length, nasal length, nasal depth, total face length. Though Bhil is nearer to the Dom than the other groups, according to D^2 value they are quite distinct.

7. *Tribal Group*:—It consists of Chero, Majhi, Panika, and Kharwar. The tribal groups generally resemble one another except in nasal characters.

Inter-cluster study:—In order to make this study, average values were calculated for each character over all castes forming composite clusters and sub-clusters. There are four fundamental clusters with special characteristics of their own. This classification fits in with the social status of the castes.

1. The Brahmins possess well developed body characters and tall stature and high sitting height and also well developed facial characters.
2. The artisans' cluster, consisting of Ahir, Kurmi, other artisan, Kahar generally have characters of medium size.
3. The tribal cluster consisting of Chero, Majhi, Panika, Kharwar, Oraon, Rajwar, and Korwa with short stature, and low sitting height, smaller facial characters and flat nose.
4. The two criminal tribes Bhatu and Habura, form a cluster, Tharu and Chamar are border line cases while Bhil and Dom do not fall into any cluster.

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PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS OF INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY*

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TO preside over the proceedings of the Anthropology and Archaeology section of the Indian Science Congress is an honour to be rated all the higher because the annual session of this Congress is the only occasion when anthropologists and archaeologists from all parts of the country assemble and discuss the progress and problems of the study of man in India. The great distances between various centres of anthropological and archaeological studies in this country deny to Indian scholars many of the advantages enjoyed by their colleagues in other countries where frequent personal contacts between the members of different universities and research institutions and the resultant mutual stimulation and constructive criticism are an essential feature of academic life.

Once a year, however, the Indian Science Congress offers a venue for comprehensive discussions on matters of common interest and I think it will therefore be fitting if I take this opportunity to review briefly some of the main problems that today face the anthropologist and archaeologist in India.

The sciences of anthropology and archaeology cover the whole range of man's existence on earth. They deal with past history as well as with present realities, and the ability of social scientists to make certain predictions regarding the behaviour of human groups draws even the future into the sphere of anthropological interest. Descriptive accounts of contemporary civilization, be they even of photographic accuracy, are therefore not an end in themselves. They provide only the raw material

*Indian Science Congress, Poona, 1950, Sectional President's Address

for anthropological analysis and interpretation which aim at an ultimate explanation of the complexities of human behaviour and at an understanding of the development of civilizations. The ethnographer's synchronic picture of individual cultures must be complemented by the time perspective of comparative studies, particularly in countries where cultural situations are the outcome of the interaction of numerous diverse civilizations. It is in such circumstances that the diachronic approach inherent in the combination of anthropological and archaeological studies is indispensable for an explanation of present day culture patterns. Here anthropological data cannot be understood except as the result of specific sequences of events that reach back into prehistoric times, and the anthropologist cannot afford to ignore the testimony of archaeological evidence and historical documents. Even where written records are lacking it is sometimes possible to deduce from present distribution of cultures and races in space valuable evidence for their sequence in time.

In India there is a particular need for a time perspective. For here we find on a comparatively narrow space a variety of populations ranging from semi-nomadic food-gatherers to modern town dwellers. While in most other parts of the world rising civilizations tended to eradicate or assimilate earlier and less advanced culture forms, and history appears therefore as a succession of cultures, one taking over from the other, in India civilizations of very different level have co-existed for long periods. This is so because geographical conditions and historic accident have enabled some of the older and less dynamic races to avoid conflict and subsequent eclipse, by moving out of the way of ascending civilization into refuge areas difficult of access and unattractive to the bearers of advanced civilizations. Frequent repetitions of this process have resulted in an unparalleled accumulation of divergent culture types.

Although some of the archaic cultures which preceded the formation of the historic high civilizations may have met with complete extinction, elements of diverse archaic cultures still persist in more or less modified form among the primitive tribes and we may therefore be justified in assuming that some of the culture types found in present day aboriginal India can be typologically correlated with prehistoric cultures brought to light by archaeological excavations.

Let us see whether parallels to this situation can be found in other parts of the world. In Europe and the Mediterranean countries there are practically no survivals of prehistoric civili-

zations, because every dominant civilization imposed its cultural pattern on all peoples within its orbit and the geographical conditions did not favour the isolation of refuge areas. Older population elements were wiped out or absorbed by more dynamic peoples, and the student of life in prehistoric times has to depend almost entirely on the evidence of archaeological material. Compare with this the position in such marginal regions as Oceania and Australia. There the stone age persisted until the age of discovery and some aboriginal populations live even today in a stone-age atmosphere. The material culture of many of the aboriginal races as found by the early explorers was fundamentally the same as that reflected by the finds excavated by archaeologists. The Tasmanians, for instance, used the same palaeolithic chipped stone implements as are found embedded in river gravels not only of Tasmania, but also of Southern Australia. The correlation of past and present is here complete, and 'prehistoric' cultures merge uninterruptedly into living aboriginal cultures.

India stands in this respect midway between Europe and Australia. A cultural development of an antiquity comparable to that of the Mediterranean civilizations has in most areas created patterns of life as far removed from those of the stone age as any in the Western world, and at the same time populations of extremely primitive racial types have persisted almost undisturbed in a style of life fundamentally similar to that of the stone age. Thus the study of archaic Indian civilizations concerns not only the archaeologist, who uncovers stratum after stratum of past cultures, but also the ethnologist, who interprets archaeological material by projecting it against the background of living primitive cultures.

Close cooperation between archaeology and anthropology is therefore an urgent *desideratum* and it is important that the potentialities of cross fertilization are recognized by the representatives of both these branches of the science of man. Yet in India a co-ordination of these two sciences is only in its beginning, and in this context I can not do more than suggest a few lines of approach to problems of common interest.

Perhaps the most important discovery of recent years in the sphere of Indian prehistoric archaeology is the identification and the dating of the neolithic and chalcolithic culture strata which preceded the megalithic culture of south India. Professor Wheeler's successful excavations in Brahmagiri have provided the key to a number of problems which had for long puzzled the

archaeologist and the anthropologist interested in the early history of India. To my mind the importance of these excavations to the anthropologist is twofold : We are now able to date the megalithic culture in South India and we have for the first time a clear indication of the position of that neolithic industry which is characterized by the partly or wholly polished celt of pointed butt and oval cross section.

Stone axes of this type have a wide distribution in India, but so far they have been known mainly from incidental surface finds. They occur in large numbers in many parts of the Deccan and in the eastern part of Madras Presidency. Numerous specimens have also been found in the area between the upper course of the Narbada and the Jumna, and there are several finds from Bihar, Bengal and Assam. This wide distribution suggests that the pointed butt axe belongs to a civilization which influenced large parts of the sub-continent, and the occurrence of very similar forms outside India emphasizes its importance in the culture scheme of Southern Asia.

In China as well as in Japan the axe of oval or round cross section appears to be the oldest full developed neolithic implement preceding both the shouldered celt and the highly polished celt of quadrangular cross section. It occurs in Formosa, the Philippine Islands and the whole of eastern Indonesia, but is absent in Malaya and western Indonesia. A few specimens are known from Northern Burma and in Assam most of the neolithic axes found on the surface and obtained from the local tribesmen are of the pointed butt type. West of Assam similar types occur in Bengal and Peninsular India, but it would seem that on the whole the types found in the Deccan and South India are larger and coarser than those of Assam.

Scanty as the archaeological material may still be, the whole evidence suggests that the civilization characterized by the axe with pointed butt is the first major neolithic civilization of Southern and South Eastern Asia. Where its origin lay cannot yet be said, but we are probably justified in associating it with populations who first developed a neolithic economy. *i.e.* an economy based on agriculture and involving a style of life more settled than of foodgatherers and hunters. While in most other parts of the world such a primitive agricultural economy of 'neolithic' type belongs to the past, in India there are numerous peoples whose culture pattern corresponds in most respects to that of neolithic man even though metal instruments obtained by trade and barter may long have replaced the earlier stone axes.

These people are the primitive forest tribes who practise a system of shifting cultivation which necessitates the periodical clearing of forest growth, who use neither the plough nor wheeled transport, and who have usually no other domestic animals than dog, pig and poultry. Some forest tribes of the high ranges of Travancore and Cochin, the Reddis and the Dires of the Eastern Ghats, the Kolams and the Kamars of the Central Provinces and the Juang and Birhors of Orissa and Bihar are all typical examples of such an archaic type of agriculture.

But are we really justified in drawing a parallel between these primitive agricultural civilizations and the neolithic industry characterized by the pointed butt axe? The evidence is so far circumstantial rather than direct but much speaks, indeed for the possibility of such an equation and Professor Wheeler's excavations have provided us with a number of important new clues.

I think everybody will agree that the culture that preceded that first agricultural civilization was one of foodgatherers and hunters, such as survives still among a few forest tribes in Southern India. *e.g.*, Chenchus, Kadars and Malapantaram. There is equally no doubt that a mesolithic culture of chipped stone implements preceded the first neolithic industry of polished axes. The coming of these axes heralded one of the greatest revolutions in the history of mankind: the transition from a food collecting to a food producing economy. For with an efficient axe, man was able to clear the forest and to gain thereby the necessary space for the cultivation of crops. Palaeolithic man armed with only *coup-de-poings* or flake tools was able to live in the forest, but he did not have the necessary instruments to carve cultivable land out of the forest. We need not resort to the speculative interpretation of archaeological finds to envisage the culture pattern of such early cultivators. Tribes living in secluded forest areas of Peninsular India exemplify the type of economy which must have followed upon the hunting and collecting stage. Though today they use iron axes, we know from experience in other parts of the world that an effective neolithic axe would enable them to carry on their primitive cultivation in much the same way- and it is reasonable to presume that the makers of the first neolithic axes, which in India and large parts of Southeastern Asia were apparently cylindrical or oval pointed butt axes, lived in similar style. The excavations in Brahmagiri showed that the stone axe people lived in more or less permanent houses and we know that such sedentary habits are usually linked with the existence of

a stable food supply. In other words the stone axe people of Brahmagiri must have been cultivators and the general level of their material culture indicates that their methods of agriculture were as primitive as those of many surviving shifting cultivators.

We may thus claim to have identified traces of the earliest agricultural civilization of India both archaeologically and ethnologically, and this is more than can be said of many other countries. Moreover, we have evidence that a neolithic culture of no great elaboration persisted in South India until about 300 B.C., when a megalithic people with a fully developed iron age culture suddenly overlaid the earlier civilization. The persistence of a stone age culture until so late a date compels us to revise to some extent our ideas of India's early history.

Right up to the time of the Asokan empire large parts of Peninsular India must have been inhabited by populations comparable to the more primitive of the present aboriginal tribes, and the gap between these living representatives of cultures of neolithic 'style' and cultures of the neolithic age has now been narrowed down to about two thousand years. Considering the very great conservatism of primitive peoples—a conservatism of which prehistoric research provides such ample evidence—it is not unreasonable to assume that despite casual contacts with higher civilizations some of the present day aboriginals have retained a good many of the characteristics of their neolithic forebears.

This situation is a challenge to Indian anthropologists and archaeologists. For it offers the prospect of tracing the entire sequence of cultural developments from the early neolithic age to present times. Such an enterprise, however, would involve a new orientation in archaeological research. We would have to excavate not in areas known as centres of ancient civilizations, but in place still inhabited by people standing on a comparatively low level of material development. It is there where a 'neolithic' economy persists into our age, that we can hope to find the immediate antecedents of aboriginal cultures.

I do not say that the discovery of neolithic sites would in all cases be easy. The sites used for habitation by some of the more primitive shifting cultivators are not always readily recognizable, and there is no guarantee that present settlements stand on sites inhabited also in ancient times. But in many areas village sites are fairly permanent because they are determined by such immutable factors as the availability of water

or level space for building huts. Many of the more advanced tribes have traditional village sites some of which are certainly of considerable antiquity and would probably reward excavation. I am thinking here primarily of such tribes as the Bondos and Gadabas of Orissa, the Kotas of the Nilgiris, some of the Munda, tribes of Bihar, the Khasis of the hills round Shillong, certain Naga Tribes and the Apa Tanis of the Assam-Tibet borderlands. Among many of these tribes we find besides the present villages, abandoned sites some of them reputed to have been peopled in the distant past. There is reason to believe that these sites, if systematically excavated, would yield valuable archaeological material which might enable us to link the particular tribal culture of today with prehistoric civilizations of great antiquity.

It is well known, for instance, that neolithic celts with a pointed or narrow butt and oval cross section are found in great numbers in the Nags Hills and it is significant that most finds come from places with similar topographical features. Excavations in such areas might lead to the discovery of that neolithic culture which underlies present-day Naga culture. The excavation of a few such sites would be invaluable not only for our knowledge of the growth of Naga culture, but for the understanding of the prehistory of Southeast Asia.

Although we are probably justified in correlating the proto-neolithic industry of the pointed butt axes with the earliest agricultural civilizations on Indian soil, we are not in a position to link this industry with any racial or linguistic stratum. Indeed any attempt to establish such a link brings us face to face with another major problem. Considering the wide distribution of these neolithic axes in South India it would not be unreasonable to link them with the peoples speaking proto-Dravidian languages and this was indeed the hypothesis put forward by R. von Heine-Geldern in 1928. But if already the earliest neolithic cultivators spoke Dravidian languages, what were the languages of the megalith builders of the iron age who succeeded the stone axe people? It is hardly credible that these bringers of an entirely new culture and style of living spoke languages closely akin to the language of the people whom they superseded. If we have to choose between the possibility of correlating the stone axe people or the megalith builders with a proto-Dravidian stratum our choice must naturally fall on the megalith builders, who seem to have been the immediate predecessors of the historic Dravidian civilizations. The neolithic stone axe folk probably spoke a language of which no trace has survived, although elements

of their race and culture may live on a much diluted form among some of the aboriginal tribes.

The neolithic and partly chalcolithic stone axe people were crowded out and either subjugated or assimilated by a strong wave of new comers who brought the use of iron and the custom of burying their dead in megalithic tombs. The realization that this megalithic culture flourished as late as the second half of the first millenium B.C. and that—at least in the Brahmagiri area—it overlaid a comparatively primitive culture, compels us to view the whole megalithic problem in India from a new angle.

I think that there can no longer be any reasonable doubt that in India at any rate the iron-age megalithic culture of the South had an independent development from the megalithic culture of the Northeast, which still survives among some of the hill tribes of Assam. For the spread of the megalithic culture of Southern India appears to have occurred at a time when the Gangetic valley was already firmly in the hands of Indo-Aryan population. This confirms my opinion on the essential separateness of these two megalithic civilizations in India, an opinion at which I arrived on purely typological grounds even before Wheeler had made his discoveries at Brahmagiri. It would now seem that the Southeast Asiatic megalithic civilization which spread from Further India to Indonesia and deep into the Pacific, is the older of the two. Characterized by the use of unfashioned stones for memorials, ritual seats, dance circles, steps and avenues, it is found not only among many of the older populations of Further India and Indonesia but also among tribal peoples of Peninsular India such as some of the Bastar Gonds, Gadabas and Bondos. An overlap with the South Indian megalithic culture may have occurred approximately along the line of the Godavari. A special problem are the megalithic elements in Toda and Kota culture. Anyone familiar with living megalithic cultures in Assam and Orissa must be struck by the many megalithic features of a Kota village; how these menhirs, stone seats, stone lined dance places and small dolmens of the Kotas could be derived from the megalithic port-hole cists of the iron—age culture of Southern India is difficult to see. Typologically they appear much closer to the megalithic complex of Southeast Asia.

I have already mentioned the possibility of correlating the iron-age megalith builders of South India with the bearers of the Dravidian languages. That at some time in the first millenium

B.C. the megalith builders were the dominant population in many parts of Southern India cannot be doubted, and it is difficult to imagine what tongue other than a Dravidian language they could have spoken. The occurrence of Brahui, a Dravidian language, in Baluchistan might be considered contradictory to such a hypothesis. But this one Dravidian enclave is by no means proof that the whole of Northern India was at one time occupied by Dravidian speaking populations. If such populations reached India by sea—and there is reason to believe that the megalith builders were sea-faring folk—it is very probable that they established themselves on the west coast of the Subcontinent at more than one place. Unfortunately large parts of Northwest India—or politically speaking Pakistan—are archaeologically very little known. But stone cists, though without port-hole, have been found in the vicinity of Karachi, and their patchy distribution would seem to speak in favour of a sea borne migration of megalithic folk. Brahui may have been the language of a colony whose contacts with the Dravidian speaking people of the South were mainly by sea.

However, all speculation on the original bearers of the Dravidian languages is somewhat premature so long as we are unable to reconstruct a proto-Dravidian. Unfortunately Dravidian studies are not yet so advanced and very little work is being done on any of the unwritten Dravidian languages of the aboriginal tribes. These languages, some of which are rapidly disappearing are of the utmost importance to our knowledge of pre-Aryan India, but since Professor Emeneau's successful investigations among the Kotas and Todas, no fieldwork by trained linguists has been undertaken among any of the numerous Dravidian speaking aboriginal tribes. The Linguistic Survey never covered Southern India, and nothing is being done to fill this gap. In its wider sense anthropology includes also the study of language, which after all is not only the principal means of expressing culture, but a cultural manifestation of the first order. Anthropologists therefore cannot view with complacency the complete neglect of linguistics among India's aboriginals, and it is a matter of regret that the Anthropological Department of the Government of India has not been able to organize such field studies by trained linguists, although this important item was included in the department's earlier programmes. Research on the unwritten Dravidian languages is today being carried not only in Paris, Oxford and California, but the workers in those places are hampered by the inadequacy of the recorded material, while in India invalu-

able evidence remains unrecorded owing to the lack of trained observers. It is only fair to mention, however the very creditable efforts of amateur linguists such as the officers of the Social Service Department of Hyderabad and certain missionaries to whom we owe grammars and word lists of otherwise unrecorded Dravidian dialects.

What are the principal problems in relation to the tribal languages of Dravidian character that concern the anthropologist? I suppose that anybody interested in the ethnology of Peninsular India must at one time or another have put himself the question whether such unwritten languages as Gondi, Kui or Kolami, can be considered the original languages of the tribes now speaking them, or whether such languages were adopted from populations more advanced in material development. *Prima facie* it does not appear very probable that populations as different in physical make-up and general culture as say the Hill Marias of Bastar and the Telugus with their great historic past should always have spoken closely related languages. When we find primitive tribes such as Bhil or Baiga speaking Aryan languages we do presume that their ancestors were among the early Aryan invaders, but take it for granted that they adopted Aryan under pressure from politically dominant populations. Similarly no anthropologist with some knowledge of India will assume that the Chenchus or Yanadis spoke always Telugu or conversely that the speakers of the undifferentiated proto-Dravidian languages stood on a level of culture comparable to that of the Chenchus. But when it comes to Gonds, Kolams, Khonds or Oraons, *i.e.*, tribes speaking Dravidian tongues distinct from such written languages as Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil, the position is somewhat different. Here we must exclude the possibility of recent linguistic change. The dialects of the various Gondi-speaking tribes, for instance, have undoubtedly been spoken by these peoples for many centuries and the spread of very similar dialects over large parts of the country suggests that these unwritten languages too look back upon a history of considerable antiquity. In the case of Kui, the language of the Khonds of Orissa, Professor Emeneau has proved this on purely philological grounds. This language contains certain archaic elements which have been lost in all other Dravidian tongues, including the literary languages, but which explain a good many otherwise obscure forms in the written Dravidian languages. This may mean that Kui separated from the main stem before such languages as Telugu, Kanarese and Tamil were fully differentiated or that

the Khonds preserved in their mode of speech certain traits which they originally took over from the undifferentiated language of a proto-Dravidian population.

It is as yet problematic whether the Dravidian languages of the aboriginal tribes of Southern and Middle India are directly derived from a common proto-Dravidian, or whether they are the result of a process of Dravidianization comparable to the Aryanization which is still in process in the contact areas of the Central Provinces, Bihar and Orissa. That the vocabularies of certain tribal tongues contain a good many words which are without parallel in other Dravidian languages would seem to speak for the second alternative, and these isolated words may be a residue from older tongues overlaid by a Dravidian stratum. From the ethnological point of view this hypothesis has much to commend itself. It offers an adequate explanation for the racial and cultural diversity of the Dravidian speaking tribes, and enables us to understand how it is that a language like Gondi is today being spoken by people as different in cultural level as the Hill Marias, the Murias, and the Raj Gonds. If during one phase of the Dravidian expansion, a period which must have preceded the Aryan expansion, Dravidian languages were accepted by various aboriginal tribes of different custom and culture, it is quite understandable that linguistic uniformity was imposed on heterogenous groups whose cultural individuality persists even after the replacement or perhaps assimilation—of older languages.

I admit that in all these deliberations we are merely postulating hypotheses ; the only way whereby we can reach firmer ground is the organization of systematic research on the unwritten Dravidian languages. Such research could be carried out most effectively by teams of anthropologists and linguists. An anthropological approach will help the linguist in the study of the social context of speech, and the linguist's assistance will be invaluable in the recording of anthropologically relevant texts. The value of such collaboration is not confined to the technical aspect of fieldwork, but extends to the interpretation of the material. Linguistic conclusions can often constitute decisive evidence on historical affinities ; and the anthropologist interested in the history of India's tribal populations cannot dispense with linguistic evidence.

In this connection I may remind you of the whole problem of the Austroasiatic speaking peoples which is another unsolved puzzle of Indian ethnology. What are the main facts of this

question? In the Central Provinces, Orissa and Bihar we find a number of languages spoken by more or less primitive tribes, which are commonly known as Munda languages. Though obviously interrelated with each other they cannot at present be connected with any of the other language groups of Peninsular India. In 1907, Professor Wilhelm Schmidt put forward the thesis that these Munda languages are a branch of a language group which includes the Mon and Khmer languages of Further India and to which he gave the name Austroasiatic. He was able to demonstrate a large number of lexical parallels as well as certain important structural similarities between the Munda languages and the Mon-Khmer group. But the material on which Schmidt based his conclusions was very fragmentary and in recent years the soundness of his thesis has been questioned on various grounds. But Schmidt's critics suffer from the same handicap of inadequate material as he did himself, and in the linguistic field no really new and constructive contribution to the Munda problem has been made for more than a quarter of a century. The attempts of Hevesey to connect the Munda languages with Finno-Ugrian languages have not been convincing, and considering the paucity of reliable material, Schmidt's interpretation would seem to remain the most satisfactory explanation of the known facts. Some linguists, however, put forth the view that as long as practically nothing is known of many of the Munda dialects, such as Korku, Bondo, Dire, Gadaba, Juang and many more, it is impossible to reconstruct a proto-Munda, and that until this is done there is little point in comparing individual Munda dialects with individual languages of the equally inadequately known Mon-Khmer group.

The answer to this problem is once more systematic field research among the various Munda speakers and that again can best be done by linguists working in cooperation with anthropological field workers. Without disparaging in the least the indefatigable efforts of those learned missionaries to whom alone we owe whatever is known on some of the Munda languages, we must remember that linguistic and phonetic studies have progressed and specialized to such a degree that the layman, however well acquainted with a language, cannot replace the scientifically trained investigator. Though texts recorded by an anthropologist may be valuable as cultural documents they are as a rule almost useless as linguistic specimens, and in this category I include my own records of texts collected among Tibeto-Burman as well as Dravidian speaking tribes,

But while from the linguistic point of view we cannot register any great advance beyond the position reached by Professor Schmidt in 1907, new evidence on the Austroasiatic problem has come forward from the archaeological and anthropological side.

The coincidence of the distribution of the Austroasiatic languages and of a certain type of neolithic celt, described alternatively as tanged or shouldered adze, was first noticed more than a quarter of a century ago and in 1928 Heine-Geldern put forward the hypothesis that people of Mongoloid affinities entered India from the east, bringing with them a highly developed neolithic culture and the languages from which the present Munda languages are derived. This immigration must obviously have antedated the Aryan conquest of India but at the present stage of our knowledge it is impossible to fix its chronological relation to the spread of Dravidian speaking populations over Middle India. While Heine-Geldern based his thesis mainly on archeological material it has now become possible to demonstrate northeastern influences on Middle India with ethnographic data.

During my investigations among the Munda speaking tribes of Gadabas and Bondos in Orissa, I found megalithic ritual which resembles the megalithic customs of the hill peoples of Assam in such great detail that the possibility of a fortuitous similarity can be safely discounted. The megalithic complex of both areas includes the erection of menhirs and small dolmens as memorials for the dead, the building of stone circles as assembly and dance places, the use of ceremonial stone seats, the sacrifice of oxen and buffaloes in connection with the erection of memorials, and several other features associated with megalithic culture in many parts of Southeast Asia. It is impossible to link this complex with the megalithic port-hole cists of South India and the only reasonable explanation of the known facts is the theory of a movement of culture and probably also of population from the Northeast into Peninsular India. Megalithic is not the only element linking these particular hill-tribes of Bastar, Orissa and Bihar with those of Assam. The institution of youth dormitories too is common to both areas and so are various minor traits of material culture, such as for instance the peculiar bark fibre skirts of Bondo and Konyak Naga women. It would lead too far to enumerate further ethnographic parallels, but I may mention that several competent observers have noticed a slight monogoloid element among some of the tribes speaking Munda languages.

Thus we see that many of the problems of Indian anthropology cannot be solved unless we look beyond the geographical borders of the subcontinent and view them in the wider perspective of cultural and ethnic movements covering large parts of Southern Asia. Recent development of comparative anthropology in the west, suggest moreover that some of these movements extended further afield than it had hitherto been thought. That Indian cultures exerted a powerful influence on many parts of Southeast Asia has long been common knowledge, but it was unknown that such influences reached out across the Pacific deep into Central and Southern America. During the last session of the International Congress of Americanists held in New York during September 1949, a number of scholars dealt with the problem of culture connections between Asia and pre-Columbian America. In view of the previous isolationist tendencies of most Americanists, the outcome of their deliberations is truly astonishing and must be considered a turning point in the history of the study of Old and New World relations.

At this congress it was demonstrated that relations between Asia and America extended over long periods, and relate to several independent areas to both sides of the Pacific Ocean. While the spread of certain art styles from China eastwards to America, appears to have taken place before the middle of the first millenium connections between India and Middle America fall into a later period. Professor R. von Heine-Geldern, for instance, made it clear that certain striking parallels between motifs in the Hindu-Buddhist art of Southern India and the symbolic art of Mexico and the Mayan region cannot be explained except by a theory of direct transmission. These motifs, which we encounter in both areas, comprise the lotus, the *makara*, the *kirtimukha*, the cosmic tree, gods standing on crouched human figures and Atlantean figures. Close correspondence of even minor detail precludes the possibility of incidental similarity. The parallels extend also to architectural items, such as temple pyramids, railings of flights of stairs in the shape of serpents and dragon, the corbelled arch and columns in spiral form. Further examples of identical culture traits are the *pachisi* game of India and the *potolli* game of Mexico, the Indian hook swinging and the Mexican *volador*, the use in both areas of parasol, fan and litter as insignia of royalty and rank, the institution of four chief officials, and parallels in cosmological systems. All this suggests a peristent two way traffic between Southern Asia and Middle America which must have begun in the first

half of the first millenium A.D. and seems to have continued for several centuries. The papers read by many distinguished anthropologists were supported by a special exhibition in the American Museum of Natural History where the influence of the Hindu-Buddhist art and architecture of southern India—particularly the style of Amaravati—on Mexico and Mayan culture was demonstrated by photographs.

Complementary to the recognition of parallel art styles and ornamental motifs, are the findings of recent botanical research into the origin of certain domestic plants. It has long been assumed that the cultivation of the sweet potato in Oceania is due to ancient contacts with America, and it has now been probable that the bottle-gourd and certain varieties of cotton are of Old World origin and have been introduced into America in pre-Columbian times. In this connection I may mention also the theory of Stonor and Anderson, who hold that maize is an Old World plant which was introduced into America from Southeast Asia. This revolutionary theory is based on investigations in the hills of Assam and Burma, which seem to show that the cultivation of maize by the Nagas and other hill tribes is much older than the European influence which had previously been considered responsible for introducing maize to that part of the world.

The assumption of regular traffic by sea between South India, Southeast Asia and America in the first millenium A.D. sets new tasks to Indian scholars who might well attempt to trace the influence of Indian cultures not only in America, but also on the intervening Pacific islands.

We are only at the beginning of the study of Old and New world relations, but the interpretations of the high civilizations of Peru and Central America as the products of a fusion of Asian and American cultures opens up new fields of comparative anthropological researches.

This brief outline of some of the problems of Indian anthropology demonstrates the need for systematic and coordinated efforts by scholars specialized on different fields of study. What are the chances for such coordination and the subsequent intensification of anthropological research in India? This question is directly linked with the organization of anthropological studies in the Indian Universities. For to which institutions if not to the Universities should we look for the furtherance of investigations which must be carried out over long periods by succeeding generations of scholars? Research should never be permanently

divorced from teaching and teaching without the constant support and stimulation of original research is not worth the time of teachers and students and the funds provided by Government and public bodies.

The place where we are met today provides a shining example of the value of co-ordinated research and teaching, for the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute has in recent years made most valuable contributions to our knowledge of man in India. This institution, though comparatively small without great financial resources, has attained international recognition by the research schemes carried out by a group of devoted scholars.

Among the Universities, Lucknow and Calcutta have a distinguished record of anthropological research and Lucknow particularly has developed as a focal point of anthropological studies. In New Delhi and Madras too anthropology has recently been established, and the Osmania University, to which I had the honour to belong for several years, anthropology is being taught in both degree and post graduate courses. But we cannot help noticing with regret that the provinces which contain the greatest numbers of aborigines and thus offer most scope to the field anthropologist namely the Central Provinces, Orissa, Bihar and Assam provide as yet no facilities for the academic study of anthropology.

Yet it is just in these provinces that anthropologists could materially assist in the solution of problems of social readjustment and economic change. Although the application of scientific methods to an analysis of human relations is of more recent date than the scientific study of our physical environment, the achievements of modern anthropology show clearly that here we have the means of understanding the working of contemporary societies. Just as physical science enables us to predict natural phenomena, so the study of social interactions enables us to foresee many of the reaction of human groups to given events, provided we have adequate data on such relevant factors as social structure, value systems and social mobility. Indeed the practical value of social science lies largely in this capacity to provide reliable material on which to base prediction. And the ability to predict is the prerequisite for social planning.

Problems of the adjustment of primitive populations to the contact with advanced peoples have for many years engaged the special attention of anthropologists and the student of human

relations investigating any particular contact situation can refer to a large volume of comparative material drawn from many parts of the world. The regularities or social 'laws' which emerge from such material will enable him to identify the trends of the social situation which he is studying and predict its probable outcome as well as the potentialities of changing the trend of events by planned intervention.

The scientific approach to social problems is one of detachment and the social scientist must be continuously on his guard against emotional involvement. Anthropological training which necessitates familiarity with a number of different value systems conditions investigators for such detachment, and it is therefore that in countries such as the United States of America the advice of anthropologists is sought in many situations—not necessarily concerned with primitive populations—where a new and unbiased approach to a social problem is required.

The principal field for anthropological research is, however, the primitive pre-literate societies, and it is in this field that a highly specialized technique of enquiry and frame of references has been developed. Systems of land tenure, and kinship, tribal leadership and authority, traditional values, codes of justice and religious beliefs are all factors which the administrator responsible for the welfare of aboriginal populations cannot ignore, and for a scientific investigation of these aspects of a people's life we require the concepts worked out by anthropologists engaged in fundamental research.

In India social planning is today being undertaken on a vast scale and ambitious plans for the development of backward areas are on the programme of most Provinces and States. But as scientists we must realize that to plan the social advance and economic betterment of aboriginal peoples without adequate anthropological knowledge is as impossible as it would be to undertake a programme of public health without the advice of medical experts. There too we may know our ultimate aim, namely the good health of the people but we are unlikely to achieve it without the knowledge of technical details which only professional training can give.

What then are the prospects for the association of anthropologists with social planning? How can their techniques of analysing backward societies be utilized for the preparation of administrative schemes and what part can they play in their

execution ? These questions will best be answered by giving a concrete example of the application of anthropological knowledge to an administrative problem. Anthropology has played a considerable part in shaping the future of the aboriginal populations of Hyderabad State, and I propose to outline here the development which was made possible by the application of anthropological knowledge to a scheme of aboriginal rehabilitation and education.

The aboriginal population of Hyderabad consists of a number of tribes differing widely in economic development, social customs, race and language. The most primitive are the Chenchus an ancient community of hunters and food-gatherers who lead a semi-nomadic life in the forests of the hills flanking the Kistna River. Somewhat more advanced are such tribes as the Hill Reddis and Kolams, who cultivate with hoe and digging stick on oft shifted hill fields and are only gradually taking to the more settled cultivation with plough and oxen. Finally, there are the Gonds and Koyas, peasant farmers, who form the bulk of Hyderabad's aboriginal population.

Each of these tribes lives in an entirely different style and presents different problems to the administrator. The anthropological study of several representative groups which preceded the framing of ameliorative schemes took the better part of five years, and it is indeed an indisputable fact that solid anthropological work requires a great deal of time. While it is possible to obtain during a rapid survey of an area fairly detailed information on certain selected aspects of a people's culture, the working of a social system and the economic potentialities of a population cannot be understood except by research extended over a long period. This must be kept in mind if it comes to the application of anthropological findings to administrative problems. It is next to useless to send an anthropologist as a "trouble shooter" into an area of which he has no previous experience and expect him to submit within a few weeks practical proposals for remedying administrative difficulties or preventing imminent conflict. Before he can express an opinion on matters of policy, he must know at least the basic principles of the tribe's social organization and system of values, and such knowledge cannot be acquired within a short time. Thus the advice of an anthropologist on practical problems is only really valuable if the specific points on which he is consulted relates to populations of which he has an intimate knowledge. It is for this reason that a Government anthropologist employed on a

long term basis can be far more effective than an expert engaged for a specific inquiry.

In the case of Hyderabad, schemes for aboriginal rehabilitation were framed only after extensive anthropological information on most of the tribes concerned was already available. It would lead us too far to describe in detail the entire tribal policy of Hyderabad, but a brief outline of the Gond rehabilitation scheme will show to what extent anthropological knowledge can be harnessed to the service of the administration of backward peoples.

The Raj Gonds inhabit mainly the highlands between the Godavari and Penganga River which border on the Central Provinces. A branch of the great Gond race, they were until the 18th century the ruling people in a region called after them Gondwana, but the Gonds of today are simple peasants, tilling land with ox and plough.

The synthesis of Gond and Hindu culture is of long standing and is a process which has continued with varying economic social and political emphasis over a period of many hundreds of years. This on the whole 'benign' culture contact resulted in considerable accretions to Gond culture. The acceptance of such elements as the plough and the feudal system so strengthened the economic and political status of the tribesmen that they were enabled to maintain a position, if not of equality then of partnership with the mediaeval Hindu dynasties of neighbouring parts of the country. Under their own rajas, they dominated a large part of Middle India throughout mediaeval times, and in Adilabad a feudal system operated until the end of the last century.

During the past fifty years, however, populations from the more advanced parts of the country infiltrated into Adilabad district and their impact on the Gonds threatened to lead to the gradual disintegration of tribal life. In the wooded highlands the Gonds continued to constitute the majority of the population, but in the lowlands they lived in symbiosis with peasant communities of Maratha and Telugu stock, most of whom were immigrants of a few decades standing. These immigrants had succeeded in bringing into their possession a great deal of land previously held by Gonds. The process of land alienation, so characteristic feature of Tribal India, was facilitated by the discrepancy between the traditional Gond system of land tenure, and the tenancy laws of the State. The Gonds accustomed to the principle of group ownership of cultivable land were slow to understand the necessity of title deeds to secure their rights

on the land they tilled; Government officials ignorant of the tribal system of land tenure conferred parts of the ancestral land of Gond clans on individual immigrants, and the Gonds found themselves deprived of a large part of their heritage.

Once the situation had been diagnosed, it became clear that what was needed was drastic and immediate action : protective measures to arrest and prevent any further alienation of aboriginal land ; legal recognition of the aboriginal's right on the land that they still cultivated ; and new allotments to satisfy the needs of those who had already been dispossessed.

In 1944, the Hyderabad Government decided on a bold policy of land reform, and successive administration, including the present Military Government have pursued the systematic rehabilitation of the aboriginals. A tribal zone has been created in which no non-aboriginal can newly obtain land, and large stretches of reserved forest have been thrown open for colonization by landless Gonds. All land allotted to aboriginals has been given on permanent tenure and free of charge, and old occupancy has been confirmed by the issue of title deeds.

This stabilization of Gond economy was accompanied by a psychological re-orientation of the tribesmen, for anthropological investigations had revealed that an inferiority complex, which had developed during the years of neglect and exploitation, was one of the Gonds' greatest handicaps. If they were to meet other populations on equal terms they had first to be given self confidence. This could be achieved only by education, and an education suited to the Gonds' particular needs.

The first problem was one of language, for most Gonds spoke none but their own tribal dialect, and in order to be able to hold their own among the other communities they had to learn the language most currently used in the district as well as the State language. But instruction in primary schools would have to be given through the medium of the tribal tongue, which until then was an unwritten language. It was therefore decided to train adult Gonds as school teachers and at the same time to compose basic school books in Gondi. A Gond teacher's training centre was established in a village in the heart of tribal country, and there selected young Gonds were put through an intensive training in Urdu, the State language, and Marathi, the dominant local language. Simultaneously they were taught how to teach children reading and writing Gondi in Nagri script. Today over sixty Gond schools staffed entirely with aboriginal teachers are

functioning and two young Indian anthropologists are associated with the administration and development of this aboriginal education scheme.

Parallel with training of prospective teachers proceeded the composition of adult literacy charts, primers and readers in Gondi. It was particularly in this part of the work that the material accumulated during the previous anthropological study of the tribe was of considerable practical importance. For the myths, legends, riddles and songs recorded as anthropological data were used as the raw material for the composition of Gondi books. It was thus possible to produce almost immediately books in the rich idiomatic Gondi of the Gond's traditional bards and story tellers. The added advantage of these books is the emotional appeal they make to the Gonds, who feel that the schools and the techniques taught in them are capable of giving expression to traditional cultural values. Without the cooperation of trained anthropologists similar results could hardly have been achieved. The importance of an anthropological approach to backward populations lies not only in the sphere of techniques but even more in the anthropologists' basic attitude to customs and values differing from those of his own culture. Interest and respect for the customs and cultural inheritance of other societies is a quality cultivated by anthropological teaching and it is this quality above all which is required of those called upon to guide the educational adjustment of tribal peoples to modern conditions.

The same applies to the organization of a workable system of tribal jurisdiction. Conditions in the aboriginal tracts of many parts of India are so different from those in towns and advanced rural areas, that an extension of the ordinary system of civil and criminal jurisdiction to aboriginals is often impracticable. The need in such areas for a simplified administration and procedure of jurisdiction adjusted to aboriginal societies has recently been recognized by the Constituent Assembly, which approved of the notification of special 'scheduled areas' both in Provinces and States. Hyderabad has already enacted such legislation and "Tribal Areas Regulation" provides for the exclusion of many subjects concerning aboriginals from the jurisdiction of the ordinary civil and criminal courts and for the constitution of tribal panchayats vested with both criminal and civil powers. These tribal panchayats administer traditional Gond law and are empowered to deal with all cases relating to marriage, property and inheritance. Officers with anthropological

training are now engaged in collecting the data on the basis of which it will ultimately be possible to codify Gond law.

The establishment of Scheduled Areas in several Provinces offers wide scope to Indian anthropologists, but at the present time, we must view with some anxiety the discrepancy between the country's obligation to look after the welfare of 23 million aboriginal and the number of trained anthropologists available. Unfortunately we are here faced with a vicious circle : the paucity of positions offered so far by the government of Provinces and States to professional anthropologists discourages students from taking up higher studies in anthropology, while the shortage of qualified anthropologists would make it very difficult to provide suitable personnel if governments should suddenly decide to associate anthropologists to a greater extent with the administration of tribal areas.

In conclusion I should like to emphasize that anthropology is not solely concerned with the more primitive forms of society but that it can contribute to a better understanding of any society even the most advanced. Its techniques enable us to study the structure, traditional values and psychological attitudes of societies other than our own, and by furthering the understanding of foreign cultures anthropology can materially contribute to a prevention of conflicts and the growth of tolerance between communities and nations. During the war American anthropologists were entrusted with elaborate research schemes for the study of the Japanese national character and psychology, because it was recognized that one must know people before one can effectively fight them. But one must know them even better if one wants to live in peace with them.

In a country like India with its complex ethnic and cultural structure the need to promote understanding between different sections of the population and to remove thereby the sources of tension and distrust is no less than in other parts of the world. There is a wide field for the Indian anthropologist and if by objective and scientific study of social processes he can help in bridging the gap between the various communities and races he will have done work of national importance.

AN UNIDENTIFIED HINDU IMAGE

H. GOETZ

IN the collections of the Baroda Museum is a curious copper image (no. A.8.204) which so far has defied all attempts at identification, and it is published here in the hope that a discussion on a broader basis might perhaps throw light on the subject. The image grows from a conic basis which shows four masks between four small Ganpati figures. The Ganpati figures are of the conventional type, but are crowned by what seems to be a miniature lion or tiger mask. Two of the bigger masks seem to be female with a diadem and indistinct forehead ornament behind which the hair rises like flames. The other two masks appear to be male, their diadems are hardly indicated, and the hair, engraved only in crude lines, goes over into the mask of an old man with open mouth. From this basis grows a Janus-like statuette, on one side an (apparently kneeling) woman, on the other a man. The arms are folded as in prayer, but actually are snakes whose open mouths form the shoulders. On the breast there are again masks. From the shoulders grow wings which, however, are big leaves, and on each of these leaf-wings a small rider figure is sitting. The "kneeling" male figure wears a moustache and a turban as they are at present worn by low castes, the female figure has the hair divided in a simple, though slightly asymmetrical style. Over her head a cobra is rising, over that of the male figure there appears the head of a roaring tiger. The whole group stands on a tray with an indented rim of fluted petals, on which again small leaves are engraved. On the bottom of the tray twelve conventional circular flowers are incised, and along the rim there are four holes opposite the Ganpati figures.

These four Ganpati figures need no explanation, though the tiger masks are exceptional. The four bigger masks might possibly be interpreted as Bhairava and Bhairavi. Also the principal figures reveal a Saiva-Sakta character and might possibly be taken as Siva and the Devi. But what about the other masks, and the leafwings, and the riders? They simply do not fit into anything of official Hindu iconography.



That the piece might be fake, is highly improbable. It was acquired thirty years ago at Baroda for a very cheap price. Probably it is not more than hundred years old. The — not very distinct — turbans of the miniature rider figures seem to represent the *pagri* fashion of the early 19th century, in any case no fashion older than the 16th-17th century. On the other hand is the technique very archaic and reminds of the Siva-Parvati gold plaque from Pataliputra published by Jayaswal. The arrangement of a figure in the centre of a tray is common for magic ceremonies. The low caste costume and the survival of a very archaic technique by the side of style elements (wings, tray, rider turbans) of the 19th century points towards a superficially Hinduized tribal origin. Might the figure represent some godling of the Bhils or other aboriginal tribes superficially tainted by Hindu (Saiva) influence?

A FEW SONGS OF THE ADIBASIS OF KOLHAN

GAUTAMASANKAR RAY

KOLHAN is the southern part of the Singhbhum district of Bihar. The Adibasis of Kolhan call themselves Ho*. The Hos are an agricultural people. Their festivals are associated with agricultural pursuits. The ceremonial rites are mainly performed to increase the fertility of the soil and the output of the crop, and to appease the deities who are responsible for all supernatural calamities. The festivals start with the coming or passing away of different seasons.

The Hos observe a number of festivals, the chief of which is the Maghe Parab. This takes place generally in the month of Magh (January-February) when they are in a happy mood having their granaries full of grain. Beside the worship of the village deities people amuse themselves with songs, dances and drinking. Youth become active with their amorous life.

The next important festival is the Baha Parab. The Ho word Baha means flower. It is held during the months of March-April when the *sal* trees are in bloom. The flowers are offered in honour of the founders of the village and the deities. Men and women, boys and girls adorn themselves with flowers and break forth in song and dance.

There are a few books containing the festive songs of the Hos in Devnagari script. But no one has yet translated them. Here I have translated some of the songs which I collected during my stay in Kolhan on two different occasions. Dr. Majumdar has already published a few Ho songs in English in the journal of the Asiatic society, Bengal.

1. We have come to a lonely place,
Sweet breeze is blowing over us;
Will you come to my side,
Or shall I go to your's?
We have reached, the midst of forest,
And the storm has come;
Will you go back to your village,
Or shall we search for a new one?

*There are two monographs on the Hos, viz, A Tribe in Transition (1937, Lond) by D. N. Majumdar and The Hos of Saraikella (1927) by A. N. Chatterjee and T. C. Das.

2. I have not taken rice like you
Filled in a leaf-cup ;
I have not drunk '*diang*' like you
Mixed up with powdered rice.
3. When you are coming from the river,
When you are coming over the fields ;
You are swinging like the ear of a corn.
4. Festival in 'Pilka' is going on,
Festival of 'dole' is in full swing ;
O friend let us go wearing '*dhotis*'.
We have seen a blonde and brunett,
Let us take them to our house
Don't be afraid I shall pay the '*gonong*'.
5. This year it has rained heavily,
Water is over flowing.
So are also the youths
Who are at their brim.
6. O damsels with ornaments
On your noses,
With tresses of hairs
Behind your ears ;
Have put on your *saris*.
But where are the ornaments
Like the girls of the Telis ?
7. When I have come in the 'Maghe Parab',
All the girls have gone away ;
O my *jiyang*, O my *tatang*
How can I be gay ?
8. 'Harbagiya' is over,
Songs and dances have stopped ;
O my mate it is very sad to see,
That 'Maghe Parab' has ended.
Young and old, male and female
All are going away ;
O my mate, it is very sad to think,
That everything is passing away.
9. At which place
Shall we cross 'Sonamuni' ?
In which way
Shall we reach Calcutta ?
10. Paddy fields are burning now,
Shall I search for rats
Or move behind my wife ?
Rivers are almost dry now,
Shall I catch fishes
Or move behind my wife ?
Or shall I catch fishes
Or move behind my wife ?
11. You have got a father
You have got a mother ;
You can spend your days

Full of songs and dances.
 I have got no father,
 I have got no mother ;
 How can I have songs and dances ?
 And how can I think of love ?

12. When we were too young
 We promised to marry each other,
 We promised to marry each other .
 But now, you don't look at me.
13. You have planted a *chandan* tree,
 A *chandan* tree in thy courtyard.
 It has cast its shadow,
 The shadow over the whole area.
 When the wind is coming,
 Coming from the east or west ;
 The flowers of your *chandan* tree
 Are tossing this way and that.
14. Why the *nadale* flowers
 Are devoid of honey ?
 Are devoid of honey ?
 They are the *saluko* birds,
 Who have sucked it,
 Who have sucked it.
15. The daughter of which rich man
 Is going over the roads ?
 The daughter of which *Munda*
 Is going over the roads ?
 Let she be the daughter of a rich man,
 Let she be the daughter of *Munda*
 I shall catch her hands for once.
 Let there be a civil suit,
 Let there be a criminal suit,
 I shall see that later on.

GLOSSARY

Chandan : Sandal wood,
 Dhotis : loin cloth.
 Diang : rice-beer.
 Dole : Hindu festival of Holi.
 Gonong : bride-Price.
 Harbagiya : last rites of Maghe Parab.
 Jirga : grandfather.
 Munda : head man of the Hos.

Munda : head man of a village.
 Nadale : a kind of flower, probably
 the silk cotton flower.
 Pilka : name of a village.
 Saluko : perhaps the common Indian
 bird, known as *Moina*.
 Sari : woman's cloth.
 Sonamuni : name of a river.
 Tatang : grand mother.
 Teli : a Hindu caste group.

PIRIYA

(A Curious Folk-festival of the Bhojpuri Women)

UDAI NARAIN TIWARI

PIRIYA is one of the most important festivals of women. It is celebrated mostly in west Bihar and the eastern part of the United Provinces where Bhojpuri is spoken. On the first day of the bright half of the month of Kartika the Bhojpuri women get up early in the morning and curse their dear and near ones without taking any kind of food. They put before them a green leaf of Kohara a kind of vegetable on which some wet grams are placed. They prick a small piece of Rengni, a thorny plant with their thumb and little finger and put it on the green leaf after moving their hand round their head. They collect the leaves and place it on *Godhan*. *Godhan* is a full sized miniature of a man, made of cowdung. A black earthen pot is placed on the head of this miniature man. Five women whose husbands are still living in the household place mortars on this black pot. Some water is poured on the mortar and this water is collected in another pot by women. Now the *Godhan* (miniature man) is crushed with the mortar and women return home with cowdung water and wet grams. The wet grams are distributed among the brothers and nephews.

One of the women put some hair in her left hand and the other woman pours waters on it. The lady holding the hair in hand says :—

*Jas jas sarapuri tas tas paro bal
Awara bhavara ka ao jar.*

Let power and strength come to those whom I have crushed, and let nameless ones suffer with fever. After this the water is spread on the earth with their left leg.

They make miniature figures of men with the cowdung of the *Godhan* and paste on the wall of a certain man of the village. At the same time they sing the following song in Bhojpuri.

1. *Kohawai tulasi ke naihar,
Kahawai sasur ho ram.*
2. *Aho ram kahawai tulasi janawate
Ta kei jari ropeta ho ram.*

3. *Gokhulahi tulasi ke naihar,*
Bhojpur sasur ho ram.
4. *Aho ram kuru khete tulasi janawe,*
Malahoriya jariya ropeta ho ram.
5. *Kathi ke khat khatolawa,*
Ta auri macolawa ho ram.
6. *Aho rama kathi lagale caru par*
Ta kathi ke orican ho ram.
7. *Sone ke khat khatolawa*
Ta auru macolawa ho ram.
8. *Aho ram rupe lagale caru par*
Ta resam prican ho ram.
9. *Eke ori suteli radhe*
Ta ek ori rukumini ho ram.
10. *Aho rama hie thaiya sutele narayan*
Sirwa tulasi dee ho ram.
11. *Marho me tulase ke lat dhuni*
Kanwe lotarahi ho ram.
12. *Aho ram hamara balamu sane sutali*
Ta sirwa gamak deli ho ram.
13. *Jahu tuku marbubu let-dhuni*
Kanwe lotaraha ho ram.
14. *Gotahi got Chitaraiho*
Ta hinihe narayan ho ram.
15. *Resam pat me guhaihe*
Ta japihe narayan ho ram.
16. *Ho jaiho agini ke joti*
Ta tapihe narayan ho ram.

Where is Tulsi's naihar (father's and brother's house)
where is her sasura (husband's house).

O Ram, where Tulsi was born and who has planted its roots.

Gokhula is Tulsi's naihar and Bhojpur is her sasura.

Tulsi was born in the barren field and the gardener has planted its roots.

What these small cots and stools are made of ?

Aho ram what the four beautiful feet are made of ?

And what the orican (the string) is made of ?

The small cots and stools are made of gold,

And the four feet are made of silver and the string is made of silk.

On one side sleeps Radhika and on the Rukmini.

And in the middle sleeps Narayan (God Vishnu)

But Tulsi sleeps towards the head.

(Radha Says) I shall beat Tulsi by catching her braid of hair and will
besmear her with mud

Because she sleeps with my husband and spreads fragrance,

(Tulsi says) It you will beat me by catching my hair and besmear me with mud.
I shall become the light of fire and (god) Narain will warm himself.

I shall become the light of fire and (god) Narain will warm himself.

The second song which is sung on this occasion is the following :—

1. *ek beili ham tawal apana mandil bikhe ho ram.*
2. *hari ji calale parades beili kumhitaili ho ram.*
3. *udho je kumaro samasika sames lele jaihi ho ram.*
4. *hari se kahiha samujahai beili kumhitaili ho ram.*
5. *jab mori marici bikaihe awadh jhin kapar ho ram.*
6. *jab mori baradhi uharihe tabahu grha aibi ho ram,*

7. *udho je hamaro sanesiha sanes le le hahu ho ram.*
8. *dhani se kahiha samujhai beili pratipalasu ho ram.*
9. *alhar basawa kataihe ta chatawa binaihe ho ram.*
10. *bice bice tamua tanaihe beili pratipalihe ho ram.*
11. *agi lagahu ohi marici awadh jhin kapar ho ram.*
12. *baradhi ke tuti jau tan nauji grha aibi ho ram.*
13. *baraho baris par aile barahi tare goni dhare ho ram.*
14. *ceriya balai bhed puchele dhaniya kawane rage ho ram.*
15. *tori dhani hatlawa ke sakari muhawa ke phuhari ho ram.*
16. *bara re parit keri dhiyawa bhalahi kulawa rakheli ho ram.*
17. *uhawa se gonia uthawale duara par goni dhare ho ram.*
18. *ama bolai bhed puchele, dhaniya kawane rage ho ram.*
19. *tori dhani hathawa ke sakari muhawa ke phuhari ho ram.*
20. *uhawa se gonia uthawale ta agana me goni dhare ho ram.*
21. *bahina balai bhed puchele dhaniya kawane rage ho ram.*
22. *tori dhani hathawa ke sakari muhawa ke phuhari ho ram.*
23. *uhawa se gonia uthawale ta sej par gonia dhare ho ram.*
24. *dhaniya batai bhed puchele apu kawan rari ho ram.*
25. *rauri ama hathawa ke sakari muhawa ke phuhari ho ram.*
26. *bara ho paritawa ke dhiyawa dunahi kulawa rahi gaile ho ram.*

1. I have planted a Beta flower in my house.
2. My husband has gone to far off lands and therefore the Beta flower has faded out.
3. (The wife says)—O Udho! You are my messenger, please carry my message (to my husband).
4. Kindly communicate to my husband that the Beta flower has faded away.
5. [When Udho gave him the message, he said]. When my black pepper as well as my fine cloth will be sold.
6. And when every thing which I brought on my ox will be sold, then I will return home.
7. [The husband says to Udho]. O Udho! please convey my message (to my wife).
8. Ask my wife to water the Beta plant.
9. Ask her to cut a tender bamboo and to prepare an umbrella out of it.
10. And ask her in the mean time to pitch up a tent to protect the Beta flower.
11. [The wife says in anger] Let the black pepper and the fine clothes be set on fire.
12. And let the legs of the ox be broken and let him not return home.
13. After twelve years he (the husband) returned home and put his luggage under a big tree.
14. He called the maid servant and asked her, how his wife was?.
15. Your wife is miser and sharp-tongued.

16. She belongs to a noble family and she has kept the prestige of family intact.

17. He took his luggage from that place and put it on his door.

18. He asked his mother how his wife was?

19. She replied "Your wife is economical and sharp tongued.

20. He took his luggage from that place and put it in his court-yard.

21. He called his sister and asked her how his wife was?

22. [She replied Your wife is economical though she is sharp tongued

23. From that place he took his luggage and reached the bed of his wife.

24. And asked her how she was?

25. She replied "Your mother is economical though she is sharp tongued.

26. She belongs to a noble family so she has kept the two families intact.

From the first day of the bright half of the month of "Katika" the short story (*chotke kahani*) is recited for a fortnight and in the black half of the month of "Agahan", the long story (*barke kahane*) is recited. An elder lady of the house recites the story early in the morning every day and the rest of the women listen to it. Those who are absent send one of their ornaments to hear the story. The text of the short story in Bhojpuri is given below:—

amawasa ke rati ha, pariwa ke din ha, gaidarh lagela bhaisi pakhewela, ceriya moarini, pirya lawali ha. u lawali sar kon u lawali bharar kon kawan ha bharar kon? sar kon jiyach ha, bharar kon marach ha. ceriya re jo te inhan goithawā ke, ram me ban me. Table petar hawa khāno kuto ceriyā gaili ha inhan goithawa ke, tab le moarini, petarohawa kharuli ha, kutali hā. ceriyā ke rahiya heri heri aiti hā na sanjhā sanjhāil ha, na beriyā bisawalihā, nā innar ke sabha uthali hā, nā ninai ke patiyā tutali hā na ceriya ghare āili ha rāni ka man me khisi bhai gaili hā, ceriyā ke putawa bachawa ke khutwa turi tari lihali hā, piriya usinate hā apane pasati ha ceriya ke bakhara dhapi topi dhauli ha. rakhiyā chāiyā ghur lagai ke, bajar kēwār de kon mur lai ke pari hari rahali hā. sanjha sanjhāil hā beriya bisawali ha, innar ke sabha uthali ha ninai ke patiya tutali ha, tale ceriya ghare āili ha. dekho ta mor put ghur par lotele potele aisani raniya, garale gumanīya. mor put ghur par lotele, potele. hathi ghora ait kari kuri jait, siyar makurrait ta me kā karito.

ta jhāri jhūri kora ke lipli ha, cuciyā piyawali hā, kākhe betā mātthe orā leke aili hā. moārini utha khola bajar kewariyā, inhan kathiyā utāri ghare dhara. ceriyā re kaise me khoto khalo me ta hatiyārini. tore putwā, bachiyā ka khutawa turi tāri lihui pirya usinui. apane ‘asati tor dhai rakhati rakhiya chaiya ghur lagāi ke bajar kewar de kon mur lai ke pari hari rahui, khali khali ke āu. aisan bol jani bola rāni kākhe morā betā bā, mātthe morā ora bā.

betwā ke nāw suni kewariyā ugharli hā sohari sihari ke gor le parli hā ceriyā re kawan te nem jānu, kawan te dharam janu, kāhe tor jiyach bhail, kāhe mor marāch bhail. raua ta rajā ke rani panwe phulwe muh juthiawali gur ghiw kārhe gaili muh juthiawali ham ta ceri cāpati gobaro kārhat kahanīyā sunli paniyo bharat kahanīyā sunli. oji mor fiyach bhail ohi rāur marach bhail. hartar sog na partar sog, nā bhaiyā kā bahini sog, na bāt ki dubiye sog. sog paro ghur me, put paro kor me kahti sunti ka pujo ās kahni jāsu kabilāsu.

It was the night fully dark, the first day of the bright half, when “Gaidarh” [a festival of Ahirs] took place, when the buffalo was being given “Pakhewa” [a special kind of curry], the maid servant and her mistress pasted “piriya” on the wall. One pasted “piriya” in a room where cattle are kept and the other pasted in the store room. Which is the cattle room and which is the store room? The cattle room is auspicious and the store room is inauspicious. [The mistress said to her maid servant] “O maid servant, you go to the forest and fetch fuel. In the meantime I am going to crush the paddy.” The maid servant went to fetch fuel, at the same time, the mistress crushed the paddy. She—the mistress—waited anxiously for the return of the maid—servant. Neither it became evening nor dark nor the meeting of Lord ‘Indra’ was dispersed, nor people began to feel sleepy nor the maid servant returned home. The mistress became angry, she killed the son of her maid-servant and uprooted the peg of the calf and cooked the food. She took her food and kept the share of her maid servant by covering it. The mistress threw away the ashes in the dust bin and slept in the room by bolting from inside. The evening approached, it became dark, the meeting of Lord ‘Indra’ dispersed and the people began to feel sleepy, then the maid servant returned home. The maid servant found her young child hale and hearty and playing on the dust bin. She [the maid servant] thought in her mind that the mistress was so haughty and proud, that she put her child on the dust bin. If the elephant and the horse were to

pass that way, they would have crushed the child, if the jackal would have devoured it, what would have I done?

After cleansing the body of the child, she put him in her lap and sucked her breast and holding the child in her arms and putting the basket on her head, she came. She asked her mistress to open the bolted gate and to put off the fuel in the house. The mistress replied, "O maid servant, how should I open the door, I am a murderer. I killed your son, uprooted the peg of the calf and used them to prepare food. I took my share and kept yours and threw away the ashes on the dust bin and after bolting the door, I slept in the corner of the room, you yourself open the door and come." (The maid servant addressed the mistress saying), "O queen! do not speak like that. I am holding my child in my arms and putting the basket on my head."

Hearing the name of the child, the mistress opened the door. She saluted her (maid servant) by lying prostrate on the ground and told her. "O maid servant! what is the secret of your virtue, why your sons are living and mine died?" [The maid servant replied]. "You are the queen of a king, you often broke your fast by taking betel etc. you also broke your fast, when you went to take out 'gur, and "ghee". I am a wretched maid servant. I heard the story [of piriya] while making cowdung cakes and while drawing water [from the well]. This is why, my sons are living and yours died. Let there be no sorrow for oneself or for others, let sister not feel sorrow for her brother and let there be no trouble to the grass lying on the path. Let the sorrow go to the dust-bin and let the child be in the lap of her mother and let the aspiration of those who recite and listen to the story be fulfilled and let the story go to heaven.

The text of the long story [*barki kahani*] in the Bhojpuri is the following :—

amawasā ke rāti ha, pariwā ke din ha, rājā ke bhāt ke bitā duno jāni 'piriyā lawali hā, khaili hā piali hā mani hari gaili hā ha ji jā gaili hā u parti hā rāj ghar u parli hā mahat ghar. rajawā kā sāl put bhail hā, mari hari gail ha. mahatini ke sāt put bhail ha jiach bhail hā bahini ho hamarā ta roe ke nahāe ke sādḥ bā. jahu tuku bahiniroe ke nahae ke sadh ba ja ber babur tar lipiha potiha tarhathi kāt gari roeha nahaiha. gaili hā ber babur tar lipali hā potali ha, na tarhathu kat garal hā' na roe nahae ke sādḥ pujaḥ ha,

dekhu ta re ceriya mahatini ke kawan put marela kawan put harela nā put marela nā put harela. bhāt brāmhāweta nagar giti gāweta, bahini ho mor ehu nā roe nahāe ke sādḥ pujaḥ.

jahu tuhu bahini roe nahāe ke nā sād̥h pujaḷ ha, bhari aganā sariso chitarā diha, babuā awari jaihe dawari jaihe, tagiyā tuti roiha nahaiha sār saradhā puji. gaili hā bhari aganā piarā sariso chitarā dihalī hā, babuā awarle hā dawarle ha nā tagiyā tutaḷ hā nā roe nahāe kē sād̥h pujaḷ hā.

dekhu ta re ceriyā mahatini ke kawan put marelā kawan put harela. na put marelā. na put harela bhat baramhāwela nagar giti gāwela. bahini ho mor ehu nā roe nahāe ke sād̥h pujaḷ.

jahu tuhu bahini roe nahāe ke nā—sād̥h pujaḷ hā, bikhheriyā bikhheriyā ghare jaiha, bikhī le aiha, bikhī lāru banaiha. babuā aihe āsā pāsā kheli ke. mai mai kalewā da. ka put kalewā di. tahari mausi hamari bahinie ek ek laruā bayan patharwal hā. khaile hā paileyale hā nā maile hā nā roe nahāe ke sād̥h pujaḷ ha dekhu ta re ceriyā mahatini ke kawan put marelā, kawan put harela. nā put marelā, nā put hareā. bhet, baramhāwela nagar giti gāwela, bahini ho mor ehu nā roe nahāe ke sād̥h pujaḷ.

jahu tuhu bahini ehu na roe nahāe ke sād̥h pujaḷ, sapheriyā ghare jaiha sāp le aiha, ghucā me kai ke dhai deha. puta aihe, mai mai ghucā da. ka put ghucā di. culhiyā kā pachawā bā lage hāth lā jhariha muh lā phukiha, sapheriyā ghare gaili hā sap le aili hā, ghucā me kai ke dhai dehalī hā. babuā aile hā, mai mai ghucā da. ka put ghucā di, culhiya kā pachawābā lage. hāth lā jhariha muh lā phukiha. hāth lā jharle hā. muh lā phukle hā. ekbari har ho gail hā, jhāri jhūri gar me lawale hā. māi hamār aitan phuhari' beti patohi paiti ta naihar āsur bhejiti, ceri cāpat pait ta beci khoci khait. ta ham kā kariti.

dekhu ta re ceriyā mahatini ke kawan put marelā kawan put harela. na put marelā, nā put harela. bhāt baramhāwela nagar giti gāwela. bahini ho mor ehu na roe nahāe ke sād̥h pujaḷ.

jahu tuhu bahini ehu nā roe nahāe ke sād̥h pujaḷ hā, kānh ke kāth, karāhi ke tel korā ke betā le ke ran me ban me tiur kaniha, kanh ke kāth lihati hā, karahi ke tel lihalī hā korā ke betā lihalī hā, ran me ban me gaili hā tiuri khaneli dhahi dhahi jala, bhusā jhokelijira holā kāth jhokeli canon holā, betwa mamori camori jhokeli uthi uthi baithelā. isar gaurā parbatī ke rath calī jālā. kā te tiwai āpan jāmal apane jhokaratāre. nāhi e mahādev hamarā ta roe ke nahea ke sād̥h bā.

jahu tor tiwai roe ke nahāe ke sād̥h bā, jā sāt nadi samundar pār, dātā sethi ke betawā mual paral bāre, unke cirār carhi roiha naiha. gaili hā sāt nadi samundar pār. dātā sethi ke betā mual paral rahale hā unke cirār carhi roali hā nahaiti hā, sād̥h pujaḷ hā jaha unukar lar girāl hā taḥa unukar bār jāmal hā, jāhā unukar

āsu giral hā, taha unukar sās paral hā agirā magirā ke uthale hā. mausi ho mause me ta bahut sutali hā jā e put jas tusutal a tas tohār airi suto baire suto kon ke musariya suto ban ke ciruiyā suto. kahti sunti kā pujo ās, kahani jāsu kabilāsu,

It was the night fully dark, the first day of the bright half, when the daughter of a king and a bard pasted 'piriya' took their meals, died and were born again. One was born in a king's house, and the other in a noble family. Seven sons were born to the king and they died. Seven sons were also born to the noble lady and they were quite hale and hearty. The lady who had seven sons alive said to the other, "O sister I have a deep desire for weeping and bathing."¹

The wife of the king who had no sons alive said, "O sister, if you have a deep desire for weeping and bathing, you go under a "ber" and 'babul' trees, white-wash the earth, the thorns will enter your palm and then you weep and bathe". She went under "ber" and "babul" trees², white-washed the earth, neither thorns entered her palm nor her desire for weeping and bathing was fulfilled.

The wife of the king said to her maid servant, "O maid servant, you go and see, which of the sons of the noble lady had died?" The maid servant after observing everything carefully went to the king's wife and reported, "No son of the noble lady was dead nor any thing has happened to them. The bard sang the songs of praise and the people sang songs in her honour". The noble lady came and said to the king's wife, "O sister, my desire for weeping and bathing was not fulfilled.

The wife of the king said to the noble lady. "O sister, if your desire for weeping and bathing has not been fulfilled, you scatter mustard in your entire courtyard, your sons will come and go and run, their legs will be broken, then you weep and bathe and thus your desire will be fulfilled. She went and scattered pale mustard in her entire court-yard." Her sons came and ran, neither their legs were broken nor her desire for weeping and bathing was fulfilled.

The wife of the king said to her maid servant, "O maid servant, you go and see, which of the sons of the noble lady had died?" The maid servant, after observing every thing carefully went to the king's wife and reported, "No son of the noble lady was

1* This is a common expression in Bhojpuri because after the death of a member the women of the family weep and bathe for ten days,

2* These trees possess sharp thorns.

dead nor any thing has happened to them. The bard sang the songs of praise and the people sang songs in her honour." The noble lady came and said to the king's wife, "O sister, my desire for weeping and bathing was not fulfilled."

The wife of the king said to the noble lady. "O sister, if your desire for weeping and bathing has not been fulfilled, you go to the house of the poison keeper, bring poison and prepare sweets of it. Your sons will come after playing dice and say "O mother, give something to eat." Then, you say, "O sons, what should I give for your break-fast? Your aunt and my sister has sent some sweets for you." They ate but they did not die and so the desire for weeping and bathing was not fulfilled.

The wife of the king said to her maid servant, 'O maid servant, you go and see which of the sons of the noble lady had died?' The maid servant, after observing, everything carefully went to the king's wife and reported, "No son of the noble lady was dead nor anything has happened to them. The bard sang the songs of praise and the people sang songs in her honour." The noble lady came and said to the king's wife, "O sister, my desire for weeping and bathing was not fulfilled."

The wife of the king said to the noble lady, "O sister, if your desire for weeping and bathing has not been fulfilled, you go to the house of the snake keeper and bring a snake and put it into an earthen pot. Your sons will come and say, "O mother give us the earthen pot" Then you say "what should I give you, the earthen pot? It is kept behind the fire place, you put your hand in it and blow your mouth. She then went to the house of the snake keeper, brought a snake and put it in the earthen pot. The son came and said, "O mother, give me the earthen pot." The mother said, "What should I give you, the earthen pot? It is kept behind the fire place. You put your hand in it and blow your mouth." He blew his mouth and it became a garland of gold. He put it round her neck and said, "My mother is very careless. If any of the daughters or daughter-in-laws have got it they must have sent it the garland to their father's house and husband's house and if some maid servant had got it she must have sold it to some body. Then what would have I done?"

The wife of the king said to her maid servant, "O maid servant, you go and see which of the sons of the noble lady had died?" The maid servant, after observing everything carefully went to the king's wife and reported, "No son of the noble lady

was dead nor anything has happened to them. The bard sang the songs of praise and the people sang songs in her honour." The noble lady came and said to the king's wife, "O sister, my desire for weeping and bathing was not fulfilled."

The wife of the king said to the noble lady, "O sister if your desire for weeping and bathing has not been fulfilled, you take fuel on your shoulder and oil in a cauldren and child in your lap and then make a long oven in the forest. She took fuel on her shoulder, oil in the cauldron and the son in her lap and went into the forest. She began to prepare the long oven but it was destroyed of itself. But when she added husk to the fire it became cumminseed and when she put fuel it became sandal wood, and when she put her child in the fire he became alive. The chariot of Lord Siva and Parvati was going. [They said] "Why O you woman, putting your son in the fire yourself" she replied "O Lord! I have a great desire for weeping and bathing."

Lord Siva said, "O woman! if you have a desire for weeping and bathing, go in the far off land crossing seven rivers and oceans, where the son of a great merchant named Data is lying dead. You should weep and bathe over his funeral pyre. She went to the place, after crossing seven rivers and oceans, where the son of the great merchant Data was lying dead. She wept and bathed over his pyre. Thus her desire was fulfilled. Where her saliva fell there grew his [the dead body of Data's son] hair and where her tears fell there he got his breath. He woke up after yawning and addressing her said "O mother's sister! I slept much. Then she said "O son! as you slept let your enemy sleep like that and let the small rat of the corner and then bird of the forest sleep like that. Let the desire of those who recite and listen to the story be fulfilled and let the story go to heaven".

The repetition in the story reminds one of the dialogues of the Pali canons. The language of this story is archaic though it has changed with times. The Bihari dialects viz. Maithili, Magahi and Bhojpuri have been greatly influenced by the Munda dialects. It seems that this festival of Piriya is a non-Aryan one and most probably it was current among the Mundas of Bihar. This ceremony of cursing their dear and near ones by women on the first day of Piriya strengthens this belief. Further research and investigation are needed in this direction.

THE RURAL UPLIFT OF TRIBES AND BACKWARD CLASSES IN HYDERABAD (DECCAN)*

SYED KHAJA MAHBOOB HUSAIN

ACCORDING to the census of 1941 the total aboriginal and semi-nomadic population of Hyderabad State was 7,00,000. The principal tribes are the Gonds, Pardhanas, Koyas, Erkalas, Lambadas, Bhils, etc. There are 1, 14,026 Gonds, 31,094 Koyas, 3,865 Chenchus, 45,771 Erkals, 18021 Bhils and 4,04614 Lambadas inhabiting the districts of Adilabad, Mahbubnagar, Aurangabad and Warangal.

The miserable conditions prevalent in the tribal and backward areas deserve every attention of Government and of the more advanced people to enable them to face the modern world as sturdy, self-reliant Indians. By ignoring these tribal and backward classes in a policy for general Rural Reconstruction, and by having one sided development of the industrial areas without a comparable raising of the backward masses, the Government has widened the gulf between various sections of the rural population. Government, therefore, taking into consideration that there can be no harmonious progress of the nation if a large part of the rural population is allowed to remain in a state of backwardness inaugurated a policy of amelioration of their socio-economic state and assumed the responsibility of extending such help to them as was required in different situations and at different places. When launching the schemes of rural reconstruction in order to build a healthy and self sufficient community, special measures are being taken in Hyderabad. A Social Service Department has been initiated to remove the present maladjustment of the least developed tribes and backward classes and to enable them to avail themselves of all the rights of citizenship and benefits of economic, educational and social services of the state, along with the other advanced communities.

* We are publishing this article, for the information contained in it. (Ed)

The Government of Hyderabad decided to establish a separate Social Service Department with effect from January the 1st 1947, with the total strength of ten Gazetted officers, eight inspectors and twelve organisers, centralizing the department under the Adviser to Government for Tribes and Backward classes. The co-ordination of all the departments has been achieved by affiliating the head-officers of the Social Service Department to the Secretariat under which all the nation-building departments exist. Recently this Department has become a valuable adjunct to the Rural Reconstruction Secretariat by which all the nation building departments are controlled. Further to achieve effective co-ordination from the technical staff of cooperative, agriculture, veterenary, health and education departments working in the Social Service Scheme Areas, similar substantive posts have been created in the Social Service Department and the services of experienced people have been borrowed to work under the social service officers. The allotment of land to aboriginal and backward classes, for instance, has largely been carried on by the senior social service officer, who for this purpose has been invested with certain revenue powers i.e., the power of second Taluqdar and Forest Settlement officers. The function of the Social Service Department as an agency is to act as a liaison between the backward rural population and the executive, and to study their conditions, redress their grievances, work out proposals for their welfare and thereby help the progress of the down-trodden and handicapped classes of the country.

For such work highly experienced, qualified and genuinely interested personnel require to be selected. It has been noticed that unless the social service workers are themselves well-settled in life having personal sympathy, humble approach and good will, earnestness and sincerity, without any caste or class distinction, the villagers will not open their hearts to them and confide their problems. The workers should try to redress grievances without any delay by carefully planning the welfare schemes, in full cooperation with other social service agencies. In short it is of utmost importance that social workers should have a proper understanding of rural problems and plan on definite lines for their solution. They should be men of profound sympathy, sincerity and sociable nature, capable of entering into the sufferings and grievances of the rural folk. Only such men of high social and intellectual qualities would be able to command the respect and confidence of the people, and serve suffering humanity, by removing social injustice and distress.

A beginning was made in Hyderabad with the introduction of eight multi-sided schemes in the most backward and remotest areas such as the highlands of Adilabad, Amravad plateau and the forest areas of Warangal and some places of Nalgonda district. These schemes are based on free allotment of land with necessary agricultural requirements, better housing settlements, collective and cooperative farming and cattle-breeding, improved gardening, crafts, health and veterinary services, cooperative multi-sided stores, purchase and sale depots cooperative and grain banks, necessary educational and vocational guidance, adult education, panchayats and several other similar welfare facilities. Gondi and Banjara till then only spoken languages have also been rendered into Nagri and Telugu scripts and various songs, myths and necessary books have been and are being printed.

To the agriculturists who had no economic holdings of land, many thousands of acres were granted on *patta* under the Laoni Khas act (Special land lease Act) and to safeguard their interests a Land Alienation Act was passed by which the alienation of land of the aborigines to non-aborigines and of notified backward classes to non-notified backward classes was prohibited. Moreover, members of depressed classes and backward classes have benefitted by the abolition of the practice of "begar" system (Bhagela Agreement Act of '53F, Hyderabad Tenancy Act of '54F, and the Money-lenders Act of 49F) under which no cultivator holding land with an assessment of less than Rs. 50 annually can be arrested for detention in civil jail. Notification of Dastur-ul-amal of Tribal Area of 135IF., and of Tribal Zones on the lines of Madras Tribal Agency Act are expected to prove beneficial to the tribes.

As a result of this generous policy of Government of Laoni Khas, land Beroon and especially excised from the reserved forest was granted liberally on *patta* to the aborigines and to several members of the backward classes. A few years back not even 10 per cent of the Gonds owned *patta* land, but now about 70 per cent have permanent title to the land they cultivate in the several districts of the State. In Adilabad alone more than 1,60,000 acres of land have been allotted to Gonds and other tribes-men. In Mulug, Yellandu, Narsampet and Paloncha Taluqa of Warangal dist. and Achampet Taluqa, Mahboobnagar district, several thousands of acres of land have been allotted to Koyas and members of backward classes. The possession of the *siwai-jamavandi* lands, which they are cultivating, has

been regularised with permanent rights. Every family was given or supplemented land upto economic holding i. e. 5 acres of wet or 15 acres of *regar* or 25 acres of *chelka*. And some concessions also were provided for the land which had to be made fit for cultivation. It has been decided that for the new dry *patta* land no revenue should be collected for the first year, one half in the second year and full from the third year. For new wet *patta* land no revenue is to be collected in the first year, one fourth in the second year, half in the third year, three-fourths in the fourth year and full land revenue from the fifth year. Some of their settlements were set up at convenient places with good huts, drinking water wells, etc., while facilities for building houses were provided to them by a free supply of timber, bamboos and thatching grass. Moreover, consolidation of holding was tried, and with great difficulty it has been successful to a reasonable extent in some tribal villages. But this was one of the items which was very much disliked by the villagers. It is hoped that they will realise its benefits soon.

As it is not possible to allot land to each and every individual who is not an agriculturist, handicrafts are taught, and poultry farms, are being set up. Better variety of cows, buffaloes and sheep are also being bred. These steps have been taken specially in Adilabad and Mananur and it is intended to expand these activities to other places as well. Simultaneously a beginning has been made to introduce cooperative organizations in tribal and rural life. To free them from the clutches of the greedy *Sahukars* and absentee landlords sometimes they are supplied with manure, seeds, cattle and ploughs free of cost or on loans, so that they may derive maximum benefit from the generous grant of land.

Cooperative societies have been opened through the Social Service Department to free the members of backward communities from the clutches of the money-lenders and middle-men. The rural people are thus emancipated from their old debts which are cleared through loans from the Cooperative Credit Societies. Through the cooperative purchase and sale depots all the produce of the tribal peoples such as grain, honey, *ghee*, oil seeds, handicrafts and minor forest produce, etc., is purchased and bartered. Cloth, salt and other necessities are provided at cheap rates.

Rural banks and cooperative stores have become very popular in the rural areas. Moreover, *Taccavi* loans are given to bona-fide members for productive purposes recoverable by easy instal-

ments. Grain banks have been established in many villages and functioning in an astonishing way. There has been a great increase in the membership and circulating capital of grains. For the forest labourers in Paloncha, the exploitation of forest coupes successfully carried on through cooperative society, has proved amazingly beneficial. The collection and sale of wild honey are being encouraged and purification of honey is also being taught to the Chenchus. To provide members of backward classes with animals, the Social Service Department purchased plough bullocks and distributed them on a hire-purchase-system. The interest free loan amount is repayable in easy annual instalments, which are less than the amount for hire given to the *Sahukars*.

Cooperative agricultural farms under the guidance of personnel lent by the Agricultural department, cultivation and improved gardening have been started at certain rural reconstruction centres. Through demonstration and propaganda the staff is striving for a general improvement of agricultural methods. They help the cultivators by arranging through the Agricultural Department, supply of improved varieties of seeds, manure and modern implements. Cooperative agricultural farms have been started at three centres. At first the people did not appreciate the principle of co-operation, but gradually the members of the farms realised the innumerable benefits which they would receive thereby. I may mention here that collective farming in Hyderabad is as yet very limited. Only three small collective farms, two in Nalgonda for Marijans and one in Mananur for Chenchus have been started. The progress so far achieved specially in Nalgonda does not permit any definite conclusions regarding the long term prospects of collective farming especially among depressed class people. Moreover for collective farming enthusiastic cooperation of the members, strict supervisions, adequate management and mechanized farming are considered to be very essential. Therefore, the Chenchu collective arm of Mananur, is running successfully while the farms of Nalgonda are not yet a success as the political conditions acted as a brake on development and made consistent supervision difficult. From this the general conclusion may be drawn that under the present conditions the establishment of collective farms meets with very great difficulties. Therefore, for such a vast area specially when mechanized farming is not possible, cooperative farming will be suitable, which may also after sometime be converted into collective farming.

Cooperative stock breeding farms have been introduced among the Lambads, the famous cattle-breeders of Mananur, and the Chenchus who inhabit the hills in the forest areas. They are provided with she-buffaloes free of cost to encourage cattle breeding. In spite of stock breeding their children are provided with milk. The introduction of other village industries like wood work, tanning, spinning, weaving, etc., is also under the consideration of the Government.

The veterinary section of the Social Service Scheme is manned by staff lent by the Veterinary Department and is mainly concerned with the protection of cattle by inoculation against diseases, rinderpest, etc., which periodically take a heavy toll of cattle life. In addition to these preventive measures they teach scientific and up-to-date methods of raising stock.

With the help of the Medical and Health Department, a health scheme has been organised to provide medical facilities in the scheme areas. This health staff is mainly engaged in controlling the spread of Malaria and other epidemic diseases like cholera, small pox and yaws, and to educate the people in the hygienic way of living and prevention of diseases. This section has helped a lot to give the people in remote areas necessary medical help, where, on account of the very nature of the country the Medical Department is not in a position to open dispensaries. Sometimes magic lanterns are used to educate the people in this direction. The villagers like to have airy ventilated huts, separate cattle sheds, soakage pits and manure pits near their fields. Medicines are distributed through the touring medical staff free of cost, and trained mid-wives and women social service workers form the special features of the health scheme.

Along with the economic problem, the need for education cannot be overlooked for this is the only way of giving them the much needed self reliance which will be of great help in their struggle for existence. It is not enough that they should receive elementary education only but it is of great importance that they should be acquainted with the laws concerning themselves to make the members of backward population self-confident and to enable them to meet more advanced communities on equal ground. It is also considered that the education should not be only of a particular type for specific purpose namely Government service but must have its principles based on individual and social conduct, health, hygiene, cooperative, crafts, agricultural and veterinary knowledge etc. It is arranged to give education free of charge and at the same time, free books, slates, papers

and in some places even mid-day meals are provided so that the boys can spend the whole day either in school or work in the agricultural field and learn some crafts as well.

Training centres have been opened at various places in rural areas with hostel arrangements and facilities for the teacher candidates. Monetary aid by way of scholarships and free supply of books and materials etc, are also given. Many aborigines after successfully completing their course were posted as teachers in their own villages. More than a hundred schools have been opened in the Rural Scheme Areas where promising boys are given monetary aid by scholarships.

The percentage of literacy among the aborigines of Hyderabad is very low as in the case of aborigines of other parts of India. Out of the 6,78,144 tribesmen (aboriginal and semi-nomadic) only about 6 per cent knew how to read and write. If the Lambadas, who are comparatively more advanced than any other tribes are excluded the percentage decreases considerably.

The teacher candidates are expected to know the age-old tribal dances and folklores. The progress of some of the tribes is surprising. It is amazing to see them learn two or three languages; Gonds, for instance, besides Gondi and Marathi, read Hindi and Urdu, the official State language, and know simple arithmetic. Koyas, Chenchus, Lambadas, Malas and Madigas learn Telugu, Hindi, Urdu and simple arithmetic with the least trouble.

Thus in a comparatively short period large numbers of tribesmen after completing their training as teacher candidates are posted to teach their own people to fight the evils of ignorance and illiteracy. So far five such training centres and sub-centres have been opened. One at Marlavai and Ginnedhari as a sub-centre for the Gonds of Adilabad. The second is at Suddimala, and Kamaram as a sub-centre for the Koyas of Warangal. The third is at Turur for Lambadas.

Simultaneously with the programmes of producing a better equipped younger generation, the necessity of adult education has been realised and necessary steps have been taken. As a result many illiterates have obtained a workable knowledge of reading and writing. Education cannot be extended to the women folk as they do not have time for it. But the young girls of aboriginal and backward classes are educated with the boys in schools. In the evening, students play local games or sometime work in the school farm. In some places the boys play foot-ball and evince a deep interest in it. Once a year the teachers return to

the Training Centres to attend the Refreshers' Course. It is intended to introduce inter-village competition in Government matters i.e., paying the revenue levy, village sanitation, education, health, games by awarding trophies to the deserving villages in order to create a healthy village consciousness. Moreover, recreation in the shape of local folk-lore and dramas are being enacted in the villages so that they may learn about their old customs and traditions. The life of villages can be made gay and interesting by means of such physical, cultural and social programme.

In short the response of tribal students first to learn and then to impart knowledge has been very quick and it was possible to entrust them with such Government posts as village officials, forest guards, village teachers, clerks, store-keepers, etc.

Panchayats have been formed and are functioning successfully in solving and settling their day-to-day cases specially the cases of their religious and old social customs like marriage by capture etc., and the decisions are mainly enforced through public pressure. At present the Panchayats are used as judicial bodies for minor affairs and generally punishment is given in the shape of fines which are easily payable and this goes to the men who are entitled to get it as bride price or marriage expenses, the fee gathered sometimes from the parties is expended over the boarding of men and members who have gathered on that day. In due course these Panchayats will be given administrative powers also and as for the Panch, the elders and educated villagers are chosen by election and sometimes by nomination. The secretary of the Panchayat is generally an honorary worker who is selected from among the school teachers and learned Patels so that he can maintain the accounts and record all the proceedings of the meeting. Tribal Panchayats generally meet on full-moon day and this is not just a Panchayat function but is also a social gathering. As the tribal Panchayat is formed, for a group of villages on this occasion people gather from different villages and get a chance and opportunity of knowing their respective problems. This committee looks after the sanitation of the villages.

For each scheme a suitable centre was selected which was made the headquarters. The staff was stationed here and the work of the scheme was centralized here too. This was gradually extended to surrounding villages and from there to the whole Taluqa and district. The work of Palancha, Yellandu and Nalgonda districts had suffered during the disturbances of 1948,

but with the exception of the Godavari Valley Scheme the work has already been resumed in other places.

During the financial year of 1358F, (1948-49) the following schemes have been operating under the control of the Social Services:—

1. Gond Education Scheme, Adilabad district ; recurring and nonrecurring expenditure of Rs. 1, 01, 448 for '58F.

2. Koya Education Scheme, Warangal district ; recurring and nonrecurring expenditure of Rs. 28, 882-10-0 for 1358F.

3. Amrabad Rural Welfare Scheme, Mahboobnagar district ; recurring and non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 75, 462-5-5 for 1358F.

4. Godavari Valley Rural Welfare Scheme, Paloncha, Warangal dist. recurring and non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 20, 302 for 1358F.

5. Banjara Welfare Scheme, Mahboobabad, Warangal district ; recurring and non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 25, 127 for 1358F.

6. Rural Welfare Scheme Boath, Adilabad district ; recurring and non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 16,637 for '58F.

7. & 8. Deverkonda Depressed Classes Colony and Nizamnagar Depressed Class Colony, Nalgonda district ; total recurring and non-recurring expenditure of Rs. 9,320-4-6 and Rs. 4,409 respectively for 1358F.

In the Adilabad district two schemes are in operation. They are (a) the Gond Education Scheme and (b) the Social Welfare Scheme, Boath. (a) The Gond Education and Welfare Scheme in Adilabad is based on the following features: maintenance of the Rural Reconstruction and Tribal Training Centre at Marlavai and sub-centre Ginnedheri in Untur and Asifabad Taluqs, training of aborigines as school teachers, village officers, Government subordinates and craftsmen, maintenance of touring dispensary and demonstration farm, printing of school books and adult literacy charts in the Gondi language (Nagri script), cooperative organization and Rural Banks, allotment of land under *Laoni khas*, supply of plough bullocks, on hire purchase system to aborigines, organization of tribal Panchayats, Maintenance of aboriginal schools in Adilabad district and free supply of school materials, served as a model for other schemes aiming at amelioration of the economic, social and educational standards of backward populations.

Long ago the Gonds had been ruling in many parts of the Central provinces and their kingdoms of Chandagarha and

Devgarh extended as far as the present district of Adilabad, in Hyderabad, and forts like Manikgarh and others situated at present in thick forest are the old monuments of those ruling Gond kings. But those petty kingdoms collapsed in the face of the mighty Moghul onslaught and later on were completely subdued by the Maratha armies. When once they lost their kingdom they could not hold their own in the race for supremacy and lost everything. Taking advantage of the aborigines' ignorance of revenue procedure and administrative laws, advanced populations deprived them of their holdings and exploited them in many ways. Thus the Gonds having their ancient oral literature, kept alive by Pardhans, a class of hereditary bards were forced to lead a life of labourers and tenants in areas where their forefathers had lived as free peasants. The Gonds and the Koyas are closely allied tribes and live like peasants in the northern and eastern districts of the state. The Gond population of India is about 8,000,000 and the tribal population of Adilabad district in Hyderabad is 1, 11, 976, and by this time more than 12, 000 aborigines have received *pattas* to the extent of more than one lakh fifty thousand acres of land. This is made possible only after large tracts of lands have been excised from the unworkable coupes of Reserve Forest. Besides *patta* rights were granted them in respect of land which they have been cultivating on *Eksala Kasht* since these tribesmen did not possess the agricultural implements, plough bullocks and seeds, nor had the money for them, these things were either supplied free of cost in deserving cases or were provided through the Marlavai Rural Bank in the shape of loans are given to bonafide members for productive purposes. A sum of Rs. 1.00,000 has been spent on the purchase of plough bullocks to be supplied free or on a hire-purchase system to the aborigines.

The Education Scheme which was started on a small scale some years back has expanded itself into a very big organisation with Marlavai as its centre and Ginnedhari as a sub-centre. Here aborigines are trained as teachers, village officers, craftsmen, forest guards, cooperative store-keepers and Government servants. Besides, they are trained on agricultural demonstration farms where they get a first hand practical information about scientific methods employed in agriculture. They are also taught elementary rules of hygiene and instructed about the laws of State and are trained to acquire self-reliance and self-confidence which will be of immense use in their future life as they will be the leaders of their own villages and moulders of their own destinies.

Last year, 20 teacher candidates and 10 boarders received training in the centre. The number of schools have increased from 50 to 60 and school materials have been supplied free to the students. About 29 acres, 38 guntas, have been allotted for the agricultural demonstration farm at Marlavai. The total number of candidates now studying in these schools is 1,542. The number of adults who are benefiting from the adult education scheme is 542.

A touring dispensary has been started at Marlavai under an experienced Health Inspector, who is a Social Service Organizer. This dispensary looks after 40 tribal villages. Three Rural Banks are functioning here as well.

(b) The Rural Welfare Scheme, Boath, is based on the plan of establishing colonies for the landless Multanis who for the last few centuries have lived in Adilabad as semi-nomadic tribes. The facilities for grants of lands, plough-bullocks, implements, medical, and veterinary care, cooperative stores etc., are available not only to Multanis but also to other backward population of Boath Taluq. The preparatory work has been completed and the main work will be in full swing from this year. An initial amount of Rs. 50,000/- was sanctioned, 4,000 acres of land were reserved for the Multanis. The forest has been excised and surveyed. This land has been allotted to settlers by the Social Service Officer. The process of clearing the forest and making it fit for cultivation is being carried out, also the construction of school building, and grain bank.

In this district two schemes are in operation for the uplift of depressed classes who live everywhere with the higher castes. Both are colonies for the Malas and Madigas, who have been given land and have begun on an experimental scale with the intention of exploring the possibilities of collective farming as a means of raising the economic status of the rural Telingana. These schemes are known as the Deverkinda Depressed Class Colony and Nizamnagar Collective Farming. At present these farms are run on cooperative lines, but as the colonies develop, it is proposed to grant individual plots.

(a) Deverkonda Depressed Class Colony and Training Centre at Gauraram: Malas and Madigas from the surrounding villages were enrolled as settlers of the new colony. There were 17 families, but the number is gradually increasing. Drinking water, well and irrigation wells are being excavated. Construction of houses for settlers and grain banks is under progress. Last year about 240 acres were brought under collective farming.

(b) Nizamnagar Collective Farming: In the Nizamnagar Depressed Class Colony decent huts for the settlers and two sheds to accomodate their cattle are to be constructed. A sum of Rs. 3,000 has been earmarked for advancing it to the colonists as a loan for freeing them from debts. This farm is run on the principles of collective farming. Each family is also allotted an acre of land near its hut as private holding. A school for the children of settlers has been started. A Training School for the Depressed Class teachers was opened this year. It is intended to develop a training centre for the Depressed Class Teachers.

(a) The Koya Education scheme. This scheme based on the points under scheme 1, provides for the economic uplift and education of Koyas of Warangal district. This includes a training centre for Koya teachers near Sudimalla. Besides there are fifteen schools which are managed by Koya teachers who have already completed their training. Now it is proposed to expand this scheme so that almost all the Koyas who are living in the forest areas may benefit to the fullest extent. At present 15 teacher candidates are under training, and very shortly, after the completion of their training, they will be opening their own schools. Recently a sub-centre at Kamaram in Mulg Taluq has been opened on the model of the Marlavai Center, temporary quarters and the sinking of drinking water wells is under progress. Loans are given free of interest for productive purposes to bonafide members. A sum of Rs. 16,000 was sanctioned as an interest free loan to the cooperative society for expanding its activities. The total population of Multanis is about 900.

Amrabad Rural Welfare Scheme : This scheme is designed as another scheme to better the conditions of all the back-ward classes of both the lower and the upper plateau of Amrabad and particularly to improve the living conditions of the Chenchus, a dark skinned, curly haired people with coarse primitive features, who live in the jungles as nomadic hunters by giving them economic uplift, agricultural instructions, medical and veterinary services, cooperative organization, marketing and education. The special features of this scheme are the collective farm for Chenchus where they are being taught agriculture and a collective stock-breeding farm for Lambadas, both situated at Mananur. Chenchus, Lambadas and members of other depressed classes are allotted land under Laoni khas in the lower plateau. But the entire population benefits by the agricultural demonstration and cooperative organization, and by medical and veterinary amenities.

Cooperative organization consists of three stores situated at Mananur, Farhabad and Venkeshwaram, with purchase and sale depots from where cheap grain is being supplied to the tribal and backward population, and where crops and minor jungle produce are purchased or bartered. At present there are 22 grain banks which have become so popular that the membership and circulating capital of grain have increased by leaps and bounds.

A Cooperative Rural Uplift Society has been registered at Venkeshwaram and the villagers are assisted in the general welfare of the village like sanitation, education, etc.

250 acres of land have been distributed among 21 Chenchu members of the farm, which is being run under the direct supervision of the technically qualified agricultural staff of the collective farm. Cooperative farming for depressed classes has also been started. Buffaloes have been distributed free of cost to the Chenchus of the upper plateau.

In the Lambada Stock Breeding Farm, 69 healthy cows were distributed among 24 Lambada families. Breeding bulls are at present stationed at the farm and order has been placed to import three more Amrat and ten schools are working in the villages. The school-building is under construction and 10 candidates are under training. These educational schemes are run on the model of the Marlavai Training Centre for Gonds. Several thousand acres of land are allotted on *patta* to many Koyas and members of backward classes under the Laoni Khas Act in Mulug and Narsampet Taluqs. Now it is intended to open a sub-centre at Kothaguda village, gate-way to Kuruwa *patti* consisting of 180 vilages of Narsampet Taluq.

(b) Godavari Valley Rural Welfare Scheme : This scheme aims at the social and economic uplift of the Koyas and Hill Reddis. It also aims at the all-round development of the backward village of Lower Godavari Valley. The main feature of this scheme is cooperative organization for the exploitation of forest coupes and a cooperative society for Koyas and Hill-Reddies, a tribe of shifting cultivators with curly hair, dark skin and coarse primitive features. This Society which received a small loan from Government earned a net profit of Rs. 38.835 in its first year of existence. It was looted by the communists, and but for the disturbed conditions in that part of the State during the last so many months it would have flourished well. Besides cooperative organization, the scheme provides medical relief, educational facilities and instructions in agriculture. To facilitate the touring officers to reach and inspect the remotest

tribal villages on the bank of the Godavari a motor launch has been purchased by the Department. At present three schools consuming 154 boys and a night class for adults are running successfully. Owing to the unsettled conditions on the borders of Warangal during the last year the cooperative society, which had been working very well has at present come to a standstill. Efforts are being made to restart this society.

(c) The Banhara Scheme Turur, Mahbubabad, Warangal district: This scheme has been started in the Banjara *tandas* of Turur, Mahbubabad Taluq to educate them and to introduce cooperative organization in their villages and to provide medical and agricultural facilities for the Lambadas.

A training centre with a strength of 30 students has been established here and it is proposed to develop it on the lines of the Marlavali Gond Training Centre. Lambadas a semi-nomadic tribe with fair features who are good cattle-breeders and moving traders migrated from the North have settled down for the last few centuries in various parts of this State. At present ten Lambada schools are working. The construction of school building, teacher quarters, store, wells, etc., is under progress.

ABORIGINAL CRIME

ANIMA MUKHERJEE

CRIME presents one of the most colossal problems in our society. Some individuals fail to adjust themselves to the social environments, they defy the criminal law thereby endangering the social fabric. Variegated are the types of crime witnessed in the civilised society and equally varied are the causes behind them. Cesero Lombroso set forward the theory of *delinquente nato*—the born criminal. He emphasized the variant somatic and physical characteristics of the criminal. His modern proselytes Hooton and Goring, have gone a long way ahead in establishing a correlation between physical traits and criminal tendencies. Criminality is often traced to epilepsy, feeble-mindedness or emotional disturbances caused by mal-functioning of the endocrine glands. Usually such persons fail to school their conduct in conformity with the socially approved pattern.

Economic factors provide a potent incentive, indirect if not direct to anti-social activities. They provide the environment in which the society fails to exercise its inhibitory powers and individuals are carried away in the spate of criminality. Both poverty and plentitude are crimogenic factors, the former makes a man a victim to temptations while the latter enables him to scoff at the social sanctions.

Under the stress of social changes maladjustments crop up. New innovations obliterate the use of old group controls. Since family and other social units fail to guide the youth, social aberrations are the inevitable consequences. The conflict between the disposition and the milieu results in excessive mental strain which helps the growth of criminality. Apart from these socio-psychological factors, there are various other crimogenic agencies leading to the multiplicity of crime in modern society.

But as we cavil through anthropological literature we come across only a few cases of criminality among the aboriginal. We realise that aggressive and evil propensities are not so marked among the savages as among the civilized people. The reason lies in the fact that their system of morals, "does not teach or express individual efforts and individual salvations but on the contrary

teaches due subordination of the individual and his efforts in the sum of the tribal activities which broadly speaking allows no room for individual initiative.”¹ Customs and traditions, rituals and ceremonies are all combined to foster those inherent characteristics which enhance social solidarity and tribal welfare and repress the anti-social activities. Passivity is encouraged in children. “The forming personality learns to control and repress aggression by conformity to group habits. The culture channels manifestations of personality in the socially acceptable forms”² That is true of the Saulteaux Indians, the Melanesians, the Lepchas, in fact the majority of the aboriginals. All seeds of psychic tensions are nipped in the bud; those abnormal personalities who cannot fit themselves in the stereotyped pattern are eliminated at the outset; such is the social fabrication among the archaic people. Moreover public opinion safeguards group interests. Spatial contiguity breeds group solidarity and no one likes to face public disapproval or even ridicule. They dread social disapproval more than physical retaliation. Rather than living as an object of social opprobrium they prefer to court death. Thus the ignoble impulses are held in check through an all powerful desire to win public approbation.

A belief in the supernatural powers adds to the strength of customary law. A welter of taboos hedges the individual in all the spheres of life thereby safeguarding the interest of the community. At the most primitive level all evil doings had punitive virtues. “The operation of the *Mana*— a dangerous force which somehow enters in tabooed objects and which can be relied upon to punish those who infringe taboos relating to those objects”—resulted in the automatic punishment of the evil-doers.³ Gradually as the animistic notion weakened, sanctions attached to a taboo were supposed to be enforced by demons and spirits, at a still higher level gods are supposed to reinforce these sanctions and their breach becomes the occasion of divine wrath”⁴ Among some people rational interdictions on the part of the community back up the taboo. Mythical stories superstitions and conventions are concocted to add vigour to a weakened taboo. These sanctions, man-made or god-made are the all embracing weapons of control in any society. The *Mana* concept accounts for the absence of theft among the preliterate people. With encroachment of foreign elements some of their taboos

¹ Personality—Edited by Kluckhohn and Murray—P.205

² Firth—We The Tikopia. P.153

³ Lowie—Primitive Society—P.387.

⁴ Flugel—Man, Morals and Society. P.124

have lost their vigour but the mythological stories are there to warn the people. Among the Hos runs a story that as a man entered to steal some potatoes in a field he heard a voice, apparently coming from the skeletal remains of a buffalo lying on the field bemoaning its fate. It went on to say how a man having stolen the "grain" of his brother became in his next life a buffalo, the remains of which were condemned to guard the fields of the descendents of the original victim.⁵ The inhibitory influence of such stories on the credulous savage is evident from the absence of theft among them.

A belief in sorcery tends to reduce overt aggression to a low pitch. Among these people all sorts of human vicissitudes can be attributed to magical rites. A fear lurks in the hearts of the individuals, weak and strong, and deters them from anti-social activities. If a person over-rides a tribal sanction then harm may come to him in the covert way, hence the best "defence is to avoid offence".⁶ Malinowski thinks black magic to be "a genuine legal force" "which prevents the use of violence and restores equilibrium".⁷

Further it is true that a certain amount of aggressive propensities has got to be externalized but usually they are directed against outside groups, "the relation of comradeship and peace in we-groups and that of hostility and war towards other groups are correlative."⁸ To a certain extent the above statement goes to explain the relative absence of violent crimes within a group.

In this connection Gorer's hypothesis is rather interesting. He opines that the aggressive impulses need not be diverted against another group but are unleashed in an effort to wrest a livelihood from an unfavourable environment. He categorically points out how group solidarity has been strongly implanted in the Lepcha culture-pattern in course of their struggle for existence. Further their culture pattern does not accept situations where kinetic out-bursts, quarrelling or vengeance seeking is permissible".⁹ The group intervenes as soon as anything of this nature appears as such it stands a slim chance of generating a violent out-burst. Again they have sexual freedom as long as it does not tarnish the social fabric.—"That is to say all potential partners outside the stringent incest categories are per-

⁵ Majumdar—A Tribe in Transition. (London; 1937) p.176

⁶ Kluckhohn and Murray—Personality. P.218

⁷ Malinowski—Crime and Custom in Savage Society P.896

⁸ Sumner—Folkways—P.12.

⁹ Gorer—Himalayan Village—p.327

missible provided that adultery is not continuous or emotionally important."¹⁰ The pattern of exogamy among the Trobrianders has been explained on similar lines by Malinowski. Again a marriage can be called off provided the marriage gifts have been returned to the aggrieved husband".¹¹

This account is applicable to other primitive groups as well. The overt sexual jealousy is conspicuously absent among the Eskimos and American Indian tribes.¹²

Among southern Massims too there is nothing reprehensible about the pre-marital sexual act, provided rules of exogamy have not been transgressed. This diminishes the category of sex crimes.¹³ Thus the force of habit, the awe of traditional command, and a sentimental attachment to it, the desire to satisfy public opinion" along with a dread for supernatural vengeance and fear of sorcery act as deterrents to acts of violence in well integrated primitive groups.

Nevertheless, we stumble across a few cases of crime and quasi-criminal activities among aboriginals. A few cases of property crime, an occasional act of violence, scattered sex offences, homicides or suicides are the usual types of crime committed by the savages. Before we study the types and causes of aboriginal crime, let us glance at the peculiarities of tribal crime.

First of all we have to note the relative importance of crime and tort in the primitive society. Some of the crimes in modern law are regarded as mere torts by the aboriginal. A murder or theft is not given much importance among the Caribou-Eskimos whereas witchcraft is regarded as a crime, subject to collective punishment.

Another point to be noted is that the aboriginals are concerned with the offence not so much from the point of view of intentions as from the point of view of consequences to the other party. A pernicious effect is the indication of a pernicious will. A woman while going to fetch some honey bees for a man, fell down and hurt herself, the man was fined two goats as a compensation by large council of elders.¹⁴ The natives of Chin Hills too do not bother about criminal intents. "Might quashes right and avarice smothers justice and custom among the Chins whose quaint reasoning has decided that drunkenness is a valid excuse for murder and adultery, but the actions of a sober man committed by

¹⁰ Ibid—p.151

¹¹ *Op Cit*—p.158

¹² Personality, Kluckhohn (ed)—p.448

¹³ Sumner Keller and Davies. The Science of Society—p.272

¹⁴ Summer Keller and Davies—*Op. Cit.* 72

inadvertence and pure accident must be punished in the same manner as crime committed with deliberate intent."¹⁵ Again what may be regarded as mere indications by us is acknowledged as positive proof by some primitive folk. In Malaya, for example, if a buffalo is stolen and following its trial, the owner finds that it stops near an inhabited house, he can force the dwellers to return the buffalo or make good the value.¹⁶

Further they always distinguish between offences committed against group-members and those against outsiders. In Niue the slaying of a potential enemy is regarded as a virtue, murder of the member of a tribe was punished with death". Likewise theft from the member of another tribe goes unnoticed whereas theft from a member of one's group arouses strong indignation and condemnation. In most of the cases religion backs up mores. Kubarry opines that among the Micronesians a man caught violating customs pays at once not from a sense of guilt but because of superstition that "any one can call down upon him the wrath of God or make him the victim of purchased sorcery."

Now coming to the causes and varieties of aboriginal crime we find that mental diseases provide the incentive to crime. Majumdar says,¹⁷ that regional factors are at the root of certain types of mental disorders. He quotes examples of the Siberians who are said to be subject to nightmares and spells of somnambulism, they are even known to sing in sleep, though in their waking hours they plead ignorance of the experience. Arctic hysteria consists of maniacal attacks, spasms, trances, howls, dances and epileptoid seizures, and "the equatorial zone throws into question the hereditability of mental disorders". He further asserts that "the territorial basis of primitive structure engenders a monotony which the people try to overcome through orgies and uncanny fears, dances and weird seances resulting in tribal warfare and vendetta". The custom of "voluntary death" which results from moods of depression may be the outcome of a territorial influence.¹⁸ Mental disorders account for a fractional portion of the crimes among the Murias¹⁹ and other aboriginal tribes in India. Sullivan declares homicide to be the crime of the epileptic.²⁰

Witchcraft, magic, malevolent sorcery and superstitions are

¹⁵ Carey and Tuck-Chin Hill—P.205

¹⁶ Sumner, Keller and Davies—The Science of Society—p.274.

¹⁷ Majumdar—Anthropometry and Crime—Man in India, Vol. 29 No. 1 p.48

¹⁸ Aboriginal Siberia, Czaplicka p.317-318.

¹⁹ Elwin-Muria Murder and Suicide—166.

²⁰ Sullivan—Crime and Insanity p.133.

the common factors allied with the incidence of crime in the archaic society. Human sacrifices were offered in the past and are offered even upto this day for wresting blessings and support from tutelary spirits or gods or for ensuring agricultural productivity. Frazer gives us a vivid picture of the notorious Meriah sacrifice of the Khonds. Blood particularly of a woman, enriches the soil. This belief is prevalent among some people and goes to explain the crime against pregnant woman²². Elwin cites another instance where a boy was done to death with the hope of protecting a dam.²³ It is interesting to note that such superstitions are not peculiar to the primitive folk only but a few extraordinary instances occurred in Germany and other European countries in the recent past.²⁴

Almost every disease or disaster can be pinned on a nonconformist or a barren woman among these simple and credulous folk. Fear of malevolent sorcery, a dread of the wizard or witch is not an unusual cause of murder and man-slaughter among the primitive people everywhere. Warner refers to such practices among the Murngin, Elwin cites cases from Bastar.²⁵ Grigson²⁶ corroborated Elwin, and other competent authorities hold the same opinion.²⁷ Homicides and suicides can be traced back to white sorcery as well. When the magician fails to effect a cure the victim, desperate and dejected, commits suicide²⁸, and on other occasions the magician may annihilate himself out of shame. Dynamics of culture change involve a changed attitude towards sorcery. When the Cheros settled down in their new habitat in Dudhi, Mirzapur district, U.P. the Baiga was regarded with awe and reverence for he could avert pestilence and famine, disease and disaster—his help was requisitioned to ensure happiness and security; but to-day detribalisation has set in, the Baiga fails to wipe off the consequent discomfort and the discontent and reverence has given place to indifference and even hostility. Many a case is reported to the Tahshil court in which a man has been assaulted just because he fails to redress the woes of his client or he is imagined to practice black art. In one case the Baiga found his domicile uncomfortable due to the hostility of his client-

²¹ Fraser-Golden Bough—Vol. 11. p. 241.

²² Elwin *Op. Cit.* p. 73

²³ Elwin *Op. Cit.* p. 70

²⁴ Keller (Editor) A Hangman's Diary.

²⁵ Elwin-*Op. Cit.* 65-67

²⁶ Grigson-Challenge of Backwardness p. 20

²⁷ Meilow-Ki-Crime and Custom in Savage Society—p. 118

²⁸ Elwin-*Op. Cit.*—p. 79

tele against his role and left the village to seek the company of other Cheros in an adjacent village.

Often exorcism is resorted to in order to cure a non-conformist of spirit-possession. At times the remedies practised are too severe and inhuman and entail the death of the victim and at other times the person tries to escape through suicide.²⁹

Sex offences, marital—infidelity, desire to eliminate an inconvenient spouse, family frictions, efforts of revenge and the rigours of servitude imposed on a potential son-in-law who offers his services in lieu of the bride-price may lead to perpetration of homicides, suicides, manslaughters and other acts of violence.

Adultery can be easily condoned among some tribes, certain types of pre-marital relations can be looked over but marital chastity is rigorously enjoined among others. An erring wife or daughter or the paramour is done to death. Such cases occur among the Bastar people, the Kanikars³⁰ of Travancore, and the Trobrianders³¹ and practically every where. For adultery caught in *flagranti* not only wounds the vanity of the husband, but arouses the wrath of the family gods and brings disaster to the husband and his people. Again pregnancy and child birth in an unmarried girl is almost universally condemned. A compulsory marriage, censure or punishment is imposed on the offenders on discovery.³² Occasionally a desire to eliminate the undesirable husband or wife leads to the outburst of violence and other heinous crimes. Court evidence from Bastar gives us some instances. One Mase and her paramour were sentenced to death for they were detected poisoning the husband.³³ At other times constant nagging or tortures and torments drive a husband or wife to commit homicide or suicide and at times the home becomes the site for offer of a double tragedy.

"Alcoholic liquor plays an important part as a crimino-etiological factor".³⁴ "Intoxication" continues the author "is conducive to certain kinds of criminality such as acts of violence assault, manslaughter, rape and other sexual crimes". In fits of fury a son may murder a father,³⁵ an otherwise loving husband

²⁹ Elwin *Op. Cit.* p.164.

³⁰ Census of India 1931 Vol. I Part III. B Page 224

³¹ Malinowski *Op. Cit.* Page 118.

³² Malinowski—Sex and Repression in Savage Society p.213f.

³³ Elwin—*Op. Cit.* Page 97.

³⁴ Kieckhefer *Practical Problems of Criminology*, page 211.

³⁵ Elwin *Op. Cit.* page 142.

may kill the wife,³⁶ or a man may take to murder being dunned for five rupees.

Recent researches have supported the theory that drinking leads to the release of sexual and aggressive impulses.³⁷ The greater the subsistence hazards the more intense will be the drinking responses. Anxieties due to acculturation also motivate excessive drinking. In certain societies, "counter anxiety elicited by painful experience during and after drinking" exercise restraint on the outflow of aggressive tendencies, but in others drinking has been introduced with catastrophic consequences. Hallowell refers to the state of affairs among the North Eastern Woodland Indians of North America. Excessive hardships force them to drinking and consequent murder, manslaughter, suicides and other grave crimes.³⁸ Crime forms a common feature in the daily lives of the Chukchee, Wolof and the Murngin whose precarious existence force them to regular drinking habits.³⁹ Among the Bhils too many a marriage feast or mortuary ceremony becomes the occasion of tragedy owing to the in-sobriety of the participants.⁴⁰

Fatigue is considered an important link in the causative change. Fatigue produces psychological changes and particularly weakens the automatic action control",⁴¹ thereby releasing the aggressive impulses. A worn out and fatigued husband fails to find the food ready on returning home, his impulses are released and the wife loses her life.⁴² Many an otherwise inexplicable death can be associated with fatigue.

Culture changes drive the honest independent and high spirited savages to the precincts of criminality. Under the stress of rapid changes introduced by contact economics the old tribal solidarity is shattered, ancient values recede into the background, they fail to evolve new values and norms, the old sanctions and taboos which backed up morality fall into disuse and oblivion, and physical and moral deterioration stalk in. Excessive drinking, intrigues with women, abduction and even rape, property feuds, incendiarism and acts of revenge become matters of common occurrence. Menon draws our attention to the plight of Kadars.⁴³ Baron Haimendorf traces the cases of incen-

³⁶ Ibid, p.140

³⁷ Personality—edited by Kluckhohn and Murray—p512

³⁸ Ibid, p.512

³⁹ Ibid, p.545

⁴⁰ Unpublished Research Thesis by T. B. Naik, Lucknow.

⁴¹ Kinberg *Op. Cit.* p.215.

⁴² Elwin. *Op. Cit.* page 144.

⁴³ Menon-Census of India 1931 Vol.1 Part IIIB. Page 215

diarism and murder among the Chenchus to the effects of official interference.⁴⁴ Dracup declares that the game laws have deprived the aboriginals of Mewasi State of their rightful means of earning a livelihood and have turned them into criminals.⁴⁵ Tribal customs have been declared illegal without much forethought, as for example, marriage by capture has been forbidden among the Hos of Chota Nagpur and abductions have become to-day, integral part of their culture pattern. Bereft of recreations, group dances and songs, their life has become dull and monotonous. The pent-up energies are being dissipated on criminal proclivities.

A study of suicide cases throws much light on the nature of aboriginal crime. Very few suicide cases have been recorded of very ancient people, like the Veddas of Ceylon⁴⁶ or some of the Andaman tribes.⁴⁷ A breach of food or sex-taboo often drives a man to self-destruction. A man or woman when detected tampering with the rules of exogamy annihilates himself or herself out of fear and shame.⁴⁸ Often unsuccessful suicides are merely "theatrical performances arranged to convince the innocence of libelled persons or express their efforts to expiate a sin."⁴⁹ Suicide is quite frequent amongst the tribes undergoing social disorganisation. Among them it is often used as a "means for preventing extreme and unusual types of behaviour"⁵⁰ Wounded pride and injured vanity and remorse goads many a touchy and temperamental youth to self-destruction.⁵¹ Abusive and obscene vituperations, neglect and frustration increase the suicidal rates among the Mundas and the Hos.⁵² The conflict between love and taboo or love and family loyalty brings many tribal youths to the close of their lives. Sexual perversions are rare among the primitive folks. Albeit, observations reveal, sexual pervers are not absolutely rare. Among the Bhils the desperate man, when detected, seeks escape from public contempt through suicide⁵³.

⁴⁴ C. Bon. Furer. Haimendorf-The Aboriginal Tribes of Hyderabad Vol. I. Page 319.

⁴⁵ Dracup, Census of India 1931 Bombay Report, page 382-383.

⁴⁶ Man-On the Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands. 'J.A.I. Vol. XII. Page 111.

⁴⁷ Seligman—The Veddas, page 38.

⁴⁸ Malinowski-Crime and Custom in Savage Society, page 97

⁴⁹ Gorer-Himalayan Village—Page 270.

⁵⁰ Malinowski *Op. Cit.* page 98

⁵¹ Mills, Lhota Nagas Page 20. Also Gorer *Op. Cit.* page 269

⁵² Dalton, Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal, page 200.

⁵³ Unpublished Research Thesis—T. B. Naik, Lucknow University

Theft and robbery form an insignificant feature of tribal crime⁵⁴. Speaking of the Tilingets Jones says "Before the fine art of theiving was introduced by the white man, no man's house was ever robbed nor his woods stolen though cut and barked in the forest."⁵⁵ Among the Omaha theft were rare, restitution being the only punishment. As already stated this relative absence of theft can be traced to the influence of the *Mana* concept, the superstitions and the conventions as well as the extraordinary group solidarity rampant among simple savages.

But absence of lawful methods of earning livelihood, the temptations imposed and the opportunities offered by culture change often forces a tribe or a section of a tribe to imbibe the ignoble arts of theft, robbery and dacoity. Their children are encouraged to acquire and master such habits; they derive the sanction from their culture pattern. Such is the case with the Bhils of Pirpur⁵⁶ and some other aboriginal and criminal tribes of our country.

⁵⁴ Metz-The Tribes Inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills. p. 75 also Save-the Warlis p. 253. and Haimendorf *Op cit* p. 318.

⁵⁵ Jones—Tilingets. p. 217-218.

⁵⁶ Naik, Unpublished Research Thesis, Lucknow University,

ABOR TALES

PROFULLADATTA GOSWAMI

How monkeys came to have dark bottoms

In olden days there were two brothers. One of them was a smith. He used to bend down and pull at the string of his forge. This his younger brother saw and tempted to imitate. What he did was this. He sat on a piece of stone and bent down and pulled at the strings of his imaginary forge. But he was sitting under a hot sun and the stone under him was also heated. He therefore found his buttocks all singed and blackened. Later on he was born as a monkey and all his descendants along with him have their buttocks black as if burnt.

(Location of the tale : near Pasighat.)

Why the Abors have no letters

In olden days God gave the Abors letters put down on a deer skin. But a person foolishly dropped the skin into a fire and when it turned into ashes he ate them up. Therefore the Abors have no letters. On the other hand, they are said to be refuse eaters, because one of them ate ashes.

(Location of the tale : near Pasighat.)

A wer-wolf tale from south Kamrup

This tale I heard from one of my grand-aunts some twenty years before and its location is Luki, a state some fifty miles to the south-west of Gauhati, where we formerly had our home. The inhabitants of the locality are mostly Garos, noted for their expertness in magic and sorcery. When a Garo turns himself into a tiger he can be recognised by observing rings on his ears. In fact, such a tiger is known as a Dalua Bagh, a tiger with ear-rings. It should be mentioned that Garos have rings on their ears.

One day a Garo told my grandfather that he could turn himself into a tiger, but it was a risky business, for if a certain rite was not done upon him after he had turned himself into a tiger, he would not regain his human state. He told my grand-

father that he would give the latter a towel on which *mantra*, had been done and this should be dropped on his transformed self. My grandfather agreeing, he turned himself into a ferocious tiger. My grandfather was rather shaken by the sight but had the presence of mind to throw the magic towel on the tiger at which it regained its human self.

A Dalua Bagh is supposed to be extremely blood-thirsty.

The tale of Siyala Gosain or the Gosain brought up by the foxes :

Sambtasr, more famous as Siyala Gosain, lived in the Mangaldai subdivision of the Darrang district in the sixteenth century. His biography was written by Kabi Susandai, but the date of the book is not recorded and might be at least a hundred and fifty years old. This is the tale :

Dharmadev Goswami had two wives, Kundatara and Chandatara. Kundatara the elder was his favourite. Once Dharmadev went out on pilgrimage and in his absence his favourite wife remained in charge of his property as well as of his younger wife who was then carrying. When the time for delivery approached Kundatara had jealous feelings towards her co-wife, for she herself was childless. So she called in five old women accustomed to helping a woman in delivery and who moreover had knowledge of herbal lore. She told them, "If Chandatara is delivered of a son, throw the baby away in the jungle, but if it is a girl that is born, keep the child, for a girl would not trouble me for more than ten years when she would be married off." "But the mother will see the baby, how can we take it away?" asked the old women. "Oh, tell her that the delivery will be excruciatingly painful, therefore she should have a cloth tied over her eyes. She will agree, for she is a simple-hearted woman."

When the moment of child-birth came, Kundatara kept away from her co-wife lest people say that she did something to Chandatara out of jealousy. The old nurses did according to her direction and took away the child, a boy, as soon as it was born, threw it into the nearby thicket covered between two earthen pans, and told the young mother that she did not give birth to a child, but only to some flowers. The artless girl blamed her fate and believed in what was told her.

In the jungle lived a vixen with her three children. She came upon the pans and found inside a lovely baby. She took hold of it with her mouth and went inside her hole. There it was brought up along with her own children. Knowing that it was a human baby the kind vixen stole human dainties from the

neighbouring habitations and brought them to her adopted child. The baby grew up and rolled about with its fox companions.

After a year came back Dharmadev and wanted to know if his younger wife was delivered of a child. "Oh she gave birth to some flowers only," said his favourite wife. The reply was staggering, but he remained silent. After a few days it so happened that as he entered the jungle to answer a call of nature his eye fell on a baby playing with foxes. What was more, a vixen came towards him and as if trying to tell him something went back towards her hole. All this raised a doubt in his mind. He came back and asked Chandatara what had happened at her delivery. The foolish girl told him that her eyes were tightly covered at the time and all she knew was that she had been delivered of flowers. He then went to Kundatara and asked her closely. She again lied, but on further enquiry gave out that five old women had nursed her co-wife. Now that his suspicion was roused, he kept her confined to her room and went after the old women. He bluffed to them that Kundatara had told him that as she was disconsolate at the prospect of a baby for her co-wife, they had advised her to have it thrown away as soon as it was born and that they were accomplices in a nefarious game. The women lost their wits, admitted everything and further produced the five score rupees with which the aid had been purchased.

The Brahmin went to the spot at which his child was thrown away and dug up the hole of the foxes. He found his one-year old baby huddled together with its play fellows. As he recovered the baby the fox mother also came along with him. At home the baby would not go near his mother but would cry out for the vixen. The Brahmin was in a fix, and he had to keep the vixen also. Very slowly the baby allowed itself to be suckled by its mother, and after some months, when it got itself accustomed to its mother, the vixen left the Brahmin's house. Because the baby was so kindly preserved by the vixen it was named by its father Siyala Gosain. The Gosain later on became famous as a saint and was even invited by the Koch prince Raghudev. What punishment was meted out to the jealous wife is not recorded. This story, whether historical or not, belongs to the Cinderella group.

(From *Siyala Vaisnavar Charitra*, published by Ratiram Datta and Janaram Das, Nalbari, 1927).

NOTICES OF BOOKS

AN ADVANCED HISTORY OF INDIA—By R. C. Majumdar, and H. C. Ray Chaudhuri, and Kalikinkar Dutta, MacMillan and Co. Ltd., London, Price Rs. 16/-or 28s net.

In recent years archaeological excavations at Mohenjo-daro in the Larkana district, Sind, at Harappa in the Montgomery district of the Punjab and at various other sites in Sind and Baluchistan have proved that some five thousand years ago, a highly civilised community flourished in these regions. This civilisation called the Indus Valley civilisation offers a striking resemblance to the ancient civilisation in Sumer and Mesopotamia proper and at the same time there are striking differences between this and the Vedic civilisation of the IndoAryans. The Vedic Aryans were largely rural, while the characteristic features of the other are the amenities of a developed city life. The worship of images was familiar in the Indus Valley, but almost unknown to the Vedic Aryans. These striking dissimilarities indicate that the same is different from and anterior to the culture of the Vedic period. But the question is not free from difficulties.

As to the race of people among whom the Indus Valley civilisation grew, its relation to the Dravidians, Aryans or Sumerians or again the proto-Australoid and the austro-Asiatic inhabitants of pre-Dravidian India, it is not possible to come to a definite conclusion unless further data are available, but the possibility is that the Indus-Valley people might have belonged to an altogether different race. But it cannot be denied that this civilisation has been a very important contributory factor to the growth of civilisation in this country.

As to religion it appears to be iconic whereas that of the people who called themselves Aryans is normally aniconic and can be better described by the name of henotheism or kathenotheism a belief in single god, each in its turn standing out as the highest. Another important feature of the Vedic religion is the tendency towards monotheism and even monism, whereas the idea of metempsychosis was not developed.

In about the middle of the sixth century B. C. the extension of the Achæmenian empire of Persia or Persian conquest had unveiled India probably for the first time, positively during the reign of Chandra Gupta Maurya (fourth century B. C.). The remains of the Macedonian (Yavana) invasion were brushed over from the Punjab and Sindh but “the colonies that Alexander planted in the Indian borderland do not appear to have been altogether wiped out by the Mauryas. The writer

of this period very aptly remarks "If Greeks in later stages learnt lessons in philosophy and religion from Indian Buddhists and Bhagavatas, the Indians in their past imitated the Greek coinage, honoured Greek astronomers and appreciated Hellenistic art" (Page 69).

The early Magadha epoch is enriched by the religions of Buddha and Mahabira, both scions of the Kshatriya clan. Buddhism as is well known received the imperial patronage of Asoka and mainly through his efforts became the world religion. Asoka is one of the most remarkable personalities in the history of India, we may take it for granted, of the world. Asoka's conquest of morality (dharma-rayya) translated the reverberation of wardrum as that of the morality (dharma) caused expansion of the Maurya Empire but this military inactivity caused disruption to set in and which was hastened by Greek, Saka and Perthian incursion and the Kushana conquest from the central Asian regions in the early centuries of the christian era.

We cannot but notice that during the epoch of the Kushana and the Gupta both art and science flourished in India. The epoch of the Kushanas produced the great work of Asvaghosa, poet, dramatist and philosopher. Among the celebrities of the period, mention may be made of Charaka, Susruta, Nagarjuna, Kumaralata and possibly Aryadeva. Kalidasa, the greatest of Samskrit poets after the writers of the two ancient epics adorned the court of Chandragupta II, Vikramaditya, son of SamudraGupta. Acharya Dignag's fame went far and abroad. In the domain of science, the Gupta period produced the celebrated astronomers Aryabhatta and Varahamihira.

Allied to Brahmanism, the Bhagavata creed as seen in the epics was received well by the Greeks. For nearly 1500 years, Hindus ruled over Indo-china and numerous islands of the Indian Archipelago from Sumatra to New Guinea. "Indian religion, Indian culture, Indian laws and Indian Government moulded the lines of the primitive races all over the wide region and they imbibed a more elevated moral spirit and a higher intellectual state through the art and literature of India". "The history of the colonies demonstrates the unsoundness of the popular belief that Hinduism cannot be adopted by foreigners." It shows the great vigour with which it could absorb and vitalise foreign culture and would elevate even the most primitive races to a higher sphere of culture and civilisation.

The Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya, Sanchi, Mathura, Gandhara and the perfected Gupta model of structure and the architectural representation of the South still attract the admiration of all. "Judged by the standard of art, Indian civilisation must be regarded as occupying a very high place indeed among those of antiquity. It exhibits not only grace and refinement but technical skill and patient industry of a very high order.....It shows, as the national ideal, the subordination of physical beauty and material comfort to ethical conceptions and spiritual bliss" (Pp. 253-254)

We now come to the advent of muslims, a long line of succession is to be noticed among others of Arabs, Ghaznavid Turks, Ghuzz Turkman, Ghur chiefs of Persian origin, Hbari Turks, Turko-Afghans known as Khaljis, Tughlaks, "Saiyeds, Lodis, the members of the Tirmide dynasty i.e. the Mughal-Afghans. The term Turko-Afghans applies generally to the different dynasties up to the Lodis.

The Arab conquest of Sind did not immediately produce any far-reaching political conquest but is significant from cultural point of view. The Arabs acquired from the Hindus some new knowledge in India's religion, philosophy, medicine, mathematics, astronomy and folk-lore and carried it not only to their own land but also to Europe.

Of the early Turkish Sultanets of Delhi Iltutmish may be regarded as the greatest ruler. The completion of the structure of the famous Kutb-Minar named after Khwaza Qutb-uddin (not after the first Turkish Sultan as is wrongly supposed) in A. D. 1231-32 stands as an imperishable testimony to his greatness. The Muslim authority extended to the South under the Khaljis (Alauddins reign being the beginning of the imperial period of the Sultanate). But shortly after, under the Tughlaks, disruption set in and disintegration followed. The independent Sultans in the north, south, and west rose and fell. Gujarat, Jaunpur, Bahmani Kingdom and the five dynasties rose out of it in the Deccan. Bengal enjoyed a comparative independence. Territories like Mewar, Orissa, Kamrup and Assam and Nepal maintained a kind of sovereign existence. Vijayanagar empire had a meteoric rise. It rose to the zenith of its glory and prosperity during the reign of Krishnadeva Rays who conferred the most fabulous wealth as endowments on temples and Brahmanas; he may be regarded as the greatest of South Indian monarchs.

In spite of some bitterness in political relations, the impact of Hindu and Muslim civilisation was producing harmony and mutual understanding in the spheres of society, culture and art during the Turko-Afghan period. The preachings of the saintly teachers and scholars and the growth of Indian provincial literatures, might be regarded as signs of modernism, a result of fusion of two civilisations.

Another notable features of our history on the eve of Babar's invasion was the rise and growth of indegenous states like Vijayanagar, Orissa and Mewar as a sort of protest against foreign domination. The rulers of the independent Muslim kingdoms which arose on the ruins of mediaeval Muslim empire cannot be regarded as aliens. Many of the states, whether Hindu or Muslim that grew up at the time represented local movements for self-determination, chances of which were disturbed by another Turkish invasion led by Babur. The immigrant Mughuls during the Turko-Afghan rule did not produce any tangible factor but were as new Musalmans, a new element to the Indian population. The establishment of the Mughal domination in India can very well be regarded as an "advent in Islamic and world history in the sense that it meant a fresh triumph for Islam in India."

Between 1526 and 1556 i.e. in the interval between the first and second battles of Panipat, the Rajputs and Afghans were subjugated but Humayun was compelled to suffer the Afghans under Sher Shah to come to power and Akbar following Humayun restored and secured the Mughal supremacy.

Akbar may very well be regarded as a born king of man, "with a rightful claim to be one of the mightiest sovereigns known to history" Akbar's conquest for forty years till 1601 cemented politically northern and central India. But by not establishing a sea-power Akbar's conquest of Gujarat could not offer any resistance to European traders. Though north-western frontier problem was fairly well tackled, his southern and eastern annexations were in form only. But by the loss of Quandahar by Jahangir and Sahajahan's loss of at least 12 crore of rupees to regain it, there was a great set-back on the north-west.

In fact, Aurangzib's withdrawal of troops from the Deccan weakened his opposition to Chhatrapati Shivaji, who was left free to conduct the movement of national regeneration in the South. By the suppression of the Sultanets of Bijapur and Golkunda which were annexed to the Muslim empire, the organisation of the Marhattas as a state in the seventeenth century was strengthened. The policy of the Marhatta, of the Peshwas hastened the dissolution of the Mughal empire which started with the death of Aurangzib, and by the third battle of Panipat (1761) when the English started to reap the consequences of their victory at Plassey.

In spite of such climatic as the invasion of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Abdali from Persia and Afghanistan and the economic deterioration in the eighteenth century (specially in the Sube of Bengal) the advances made in education, art and administration were like signs of the ideal of a Pan-Indian state inspired by the social democracy and imperialism of Islam.

The Mughal rulers of India were patrons of education with reference to the changes introduced by Akbar in the curriculum. Abul Fazl writes, "all nations have schools for the education of youths; but Hindusthan is particularly famous for its seminaries". Jahangir possessed some literary taste and was well-read in Persian. In Dara Shukho the Mughul imperial family possessed one of the greatest scholars that India has produced. Well-versed in Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit, he was the author of some famous works including Persian translations of Upanishads, the Bhagavat Gita and the Joga-Vasista Ramayana; a calendar of Muslim saints, and several works of Sufi philosophy.

"As in literature and religion, so in art and architecture, the Mughal period was not entirely an age of innovation and renaissance but of a continuation and culmination of processes that had their beginning in the later Turki-Afghan period. In fact, the art and architecture of the periods after 1526, as also of the preceding period, represent a happy mingling of Muslim and Hindu art, traditions and elements." The

remarkable development of architecture during the Mughal period is so well-known. Like architecture, painting in the mughul period represented a happy mingling of extra-Indian as well as Indian elements. A provincial form of Chinese art, which was a mixture of Indian, Buddhist, Iranian, Bactrian and Mongolian influences was introduced into Persia in the thirteenth century by its Mongol conquerors and was continued by their Timurid successors, who again imported it into India. Music, though positively discouraged by Aurangzib enjoyed considerable imperial patronage. Akbar was a great patron of music. The most famous were Tansen about whom Abul Fazal writes "a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years" and Baz Bahadur of Malwa, employed in the service of Akbar has been described as "the most accomplished man of his day in the science of music and in Hindi song".

As a natural sequel to the notorious incapacity of the unworthy descendants of Aurangzeb and the selfish activities of the nobility, the Mughal State grew corrupt and inefficient. The country, famous for its riches which excited the cupidity of external invaders from times immemorial, became exposed to the menace of foreign invasion. On the death of the Shah of Persia, Nadir, originally a robber chief became the ruler of Persia. He commenced his march towards India. The Capital city was blockaded, villages were burnt, though Muhammad Shah retained his throne but he had to suffer irreparable losses. Internally exhausted, the Mughal empire could get no time for recuperation as Ahmad Shah Abdali invaded India, as the successor to Nadir's empire. The writer of this part of our history very aptly draws the conclusions of the three invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali. "His invasion affected the history of this country in several ways. Firstly, it accelerated the dismemberment of the tottering Mughal empire. Secondly, it offered a serious check to the rapidly spreading Marhatta imperialism. Thirdly it indirectly helped the rise of the Sikh power. Lastly, the menace of Afghan invasion kept the English East India Company in great anxiety both during the life of Ahmad Shah Abdali and for some time after his death" (Page 536).

The earliest "intruder into the East", the Portugese lost their influence in the sphere of India's history by the eighteenth century. Commercial interest drew the Dutch also to India, where they established factories in Gujarat, on the Coromondal coast and in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, entering deep into the interior of the Lower Ganges Valley. In A.D. 1600 the English East India Company secured a Royal charter granting them the monopoly of commerce in Eastern waters. There was a triangular contest during the first half of the seventeenth century between the Portugese and the Dutch, between the Portugese and the English, and between the Dutch and the English but the Anglo-French hostility that had begun in the meantime continued throughout the eighteenth century.

The rise (1740-65, Battle of Plassey 1757), the growth (1765-98), the establishment (1789-1823) of the British power in India and its

expansion (1824-56) beyond the Brahmaputra and the Sutlej marked an important development since the grant of Diwani of Bengal to Clive (1765). In the eighteenth century the Marhattas produced among themselves of the type of Malhar Rao Holkar, Madhoji Scindhia, Tukaji Holkar, Ahalyabai and Nana Farnavis competed with them till they were baffled by Lord Hastings. The Court of Directors was in favour of expansion, the adventures of Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan of Mysore and the Nizam of Hyderabad were checked. Assumption of control by Wellesley over Carnatic and even Oudh was a triumph of "subsidiary alliance, followed by Dalhousie's policy of annexation or "lapse". In 1816 a war ensued under the leadership of Ochterlony, the boundary line for Nepal was demarcated as a result and henceforward Nepal was friendly with the English. During the Governor-Generalship of Lord Hastings Rajputana and some states of Central India submitted to the supremacy of the British power. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the semblance of power that remained with the decadent dynasty of the Mughals was annihilated, the eastern frontiers were extended and Burma was annexed. The Sikhs who rose to prominence under Ranjit Singh, suffered a defeat at Gujarat and the Punjab was annexed in 1849. The Afghan affairs were settled, a separated province of North-Western Frontier was created.

The outbreak of mutiny (1857-1858) marked a turning point in the history of India. The control of the Indian government was finally assumed by the crown, a Secretary of State for India, responsible to the British parliament was placed at the helm of affairs; the Governor-general-in-Council was invested with the supreme legislative and executive authority. The army was thoroughly reorganised and the Indian States had henceforth to recognise the paramountcy of the British Council and were to be recognised, as parts of single charge constitution. North's Regulating, Pitt's India Act and other charter Acts may be mentioned in this connection. A competitive system of recruitment of civil servants was introduced. But during this period within half a century of the battle of Plassey, the flourishing industries of Bengal were ruined. In fact, the chief industries of India, weaving of cotton, silk and wool and other miscellaneous arts and crafts, such as tannery, perfumery, paper making etc. were completely ruined. Down to the beginning of the nineteenth century A.D. the ship building industry was more developed in India than in England but like the Indian textile industry it roused the jealousy of the English manufacturers and its progress and development were restricted by legislature. The decay of trade and industry in India set in towards the 18th century as well nigh completed by the middle of nineteenth century. But at the same time, it is true that as a result of educational policy of India, as initiated by the Despatch of 1854 and confirmed in 1859 there was a rapid growth of schools and colleges and the second half of the nineteenth century was marked by a strong wave of reforming activities in religion and society, the path of which had been paved by Raja Ram Mohon Roy. The foundation of the

Brahmo Samaj, the Prarthana Samaj were indication of social and religious reforms. The synthesis of the two great forces, the ancient or oriental and the modern-western marks the Ramkrishna mission the last great religious and social movement which characterised the nineteenth century.

The most important phenomenon in New India is the growth of a national consciousness which ultimately found active expression in the formation of Indian National Congress, the Muslim League and other bodies.

Though, reforms were introduced till 1937, they were thought to be inadequate. In 1929 the Governor-general Lord Irwin recognised that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress is the attainment of dominion status". The movement of Indian independence which late Mahatma Gandhi led ever since 1920 became fruitful with the termination of World War II.

A wealth of detail of what remained so long hidden and scattered here and there, has been made available to students and earnest investigators. Indeed, in this publication the materials of different periods have provided us with accurate and authentic account in the light of latest researches. Where no definite conclusion is possible, the authors have tried to indicate the different view-points. To put flesh and blood to the dry skeleton of history particularly that of the earliest period is no easy job but the authors have succeeded in doing so. History is not a mere chronicle of facts, it is important from the standpoint of the cultural growth of a nation, and we are glad to note that through the volume, a very interesting account of the colonial and cultural expansion of the ancient Hindus has been given, the evolution of the different types of art and architecture have been revaluated and the growth of a new India as a result of impact of different civilisations in recent times has been clearly indicated. In the concluding pages of this volume, we find a prominent mention of those who have stimulated Indian thought and obtained recognition in the outside world in the domain of art, science, philosophy and politics.

The maps, select bibliographies and genealogical and chronological tables at the end of each period will be of great help to advanced students. This volume, though primarily intended for the latter will not also fail to appeal to any reader interested in our country and her achievements.

L. K. R.

A HISTORY OF INDIAN PHILOSOPHY : VOL. 4—By Surendra Nath Das Gupta; Ph.D., D. Litt., I.E.S. (Retd.) Published by the University Press at Cambridge. Pages 483. Price 50 s. net.

The preface of the present volume begins with an account of the delay in its publication. But for the last world-war it would have appeared close on the publication of the 3rd volume of the series in

1940. Obviously the author was helpless. We are thankful to the author for the hope he has given us for the 5th vol. and wish that he may be able to overcome the difficulties of his aging infirmities to see his dream come to fruition so as to add precious stones in the treasures of the world.

The treatment of the subject like philosophy in lucid simplicity with English synonyms in brackets for all sanskrit terms quite on the spot. The author has given a detailed logic of the different schools of thought on which they rest their respective views. He has embodied brief life sketches of the principal teachers of the different schools at appropriate places which at once provide an interesting study and satisfaction as to the precise time of their existence with all their associates, works and pilgrimages. The controversies as to dates are also added.

This comprehensive work deals in ten chapters (Ch. 24 to Ch 33) the philosophy of Bhagvat-purana, Madhva and his school, his interpretation of the Brahma-sutras, a general review of his philosophy, Madhva logic, controversy between the dualists and the monists, the philosophy of Vallabha, Chaitanya and his followers, the philosophy of Jiva Goswamy and Baladeva Vidyabhusana. The book opens with the Chapter 24 which covers the subject of Bhagavat-purana and the author admits that much space has not been devoted to its philosophy which has been referred to for support by the Madhvas, Vallabhas, and the Gaudiya school of thinking, dealt with elaborately in the subsequent chapters. Disussion about the Madhva school occupy the greater number of pages numbering 153 and is quite thorough, though the author is of opinion that only a separate work on its logic could exhaust the subject. Still the author has spared no pains to set forth vividly the dialectical logic of Vyasatirtha, the greatest Indian expert on that branch of thought in all its aspects known or hitherto unknown. This volume also presents the Madhva view point in extenso in the great battle of the Sankarite monists and Madhva dualists. The author has very convincingly refuted the thesis of Grierson on Madhava Charita in the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics (Vol. 8) where the latter has shown an influence of Christianity on Madhivism by comparing inter alia the *bhakti* doctrine of Madhivism and devotionism of Christianity. The present author says that the doctrine of *bhakti* is very old and can be traced in some of the Vedic and Upanishad verses, the Gita, the Mahabharata and the earlier puranas. He says, "Thus the suggestion of a probable christian influence seems to be very far fetched". p.93.

This is an exhaustive digest of the exhaustless materials available and rarely available. The extensive study of the author is evident in the footnotes; wherein the names of numberless texts and also verbatim quotations are given to facilitate ready reference and to satisfy all inquisitiveness for minute details. It is certain the author has provided us with an authoritative work on the subject of

pluralism in the Indian philosophical thought and it is worthy of the patriarch of Indian philosophy.

A. R. C.

HINDU CULTURE IN GREATER INDIA : By Swami Sadananda : Published by All India Arya (Hindu) Dharma Seva Sangha; P.O. Birla Lines, Sabzi Mandi, Delhi, Pages 167 : Price Rs. 2/-

From a period, prior to Christian Era and for centuries together Hindu culture flourished in the countries of South-east Asia better known as Greater India. The group of islands of Sumatra, Bali, Java, Cambodia, Borneo, Siam, Annam and Malaya were regularly visited by Indian traders and missionaries inspired by the lofty ideals of Arya Hindu Dharma. The traces of these cultural contact are still found in abundance, scattered all over.

The author not only traces the influence of Hindu culture, language and religious practices found in these places but also gives a very interesting account of customs and manners of the original inhabitants, which will be of great help to the students of history and anthropology.

The old monuments and wonderful temples of Barabondur in Java and Angkor in Cambodia (Indo-China) show the great extent to which these cultural influence had penetrated the life of the people in these countries. The book is also furnished with elaborate proofs, plates and authoritative references.

Readers interested in ancient India and her culture will no doubt appreciate the value of the painstaking investigations undertaken by the author in the field.

L. R. K.

AESTHETIC EXPERIENCE IN RELIGION : By Geddes MacGregor, Published from London by MacMillan and Co., Ltd. Price 15 s. net.

It often seems that religion is hostile to art but in reality there is a close affinity between them—a paradoxical problem no doubt but fascinating to both philosopher and the theologian. Dr. MacGregor has tried to find out a solution to this problem. This seems to be more difficult unless we can ascertain what aesthetic experience is. The first part of the book is devoted to this purpose. The author gives us a brief survey of all those leaders of thought in the field of Western philosophy from Aristotle to the beginning of the present century when *Aestetica* was published. A very critical study of Groce's philosophy is found in this book, though the author does not fully follow the views expressed by Groce.

In the second part of this book, the author tests his findings in the field of religion. In doing so, he deals with the philosophical

grounds of "Western Mysticism" and concludes with the function of aesthetic experience in religion. Indeed we cannot but admit that "however we interpret the term *religion* the ultimate goal of religion must in fact always be some kind of vital union with divine being." In conclusion, the author remarks "the function of aesthetic experience in religion which thus grows in magnitude with every step towards the religious goal, ultimately unfolds itself in the state of glory as externally fundamental. Beautified experience must be considered as experience at once enriched and simplified. The blessed enjoy complete union with God, loving him incessantly and with all the power of which they are capable", and that "aesthetic experience and the pure love of God are respectively the only kinds of knowledge and will that remain meaningful".

AMADER ADIBASI : by Promode Chandra Das, and Amulyadhan Bandopadhyaya. Published by Reader's Corner, 5 Sankar Ghosh Lane, Calcutta 6. Price Rs.1/4/-

This is a tale in Bengali intended for juvenile readers to rouse in their mind an interest towards the original inhabitants of India, the hill tribes of Assam and of Assam hills and other parts. It is a tale of a boy and of his work inspired by patriotism and love for his country. It is simply told, written in a charming style and is expected to serve the purpose for which it is meant.

L. R. K.



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